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19 April 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1379

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ALBANIA

STEFANI STRESSES UNITY OF PARTY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 4 Jan 77 pp 2-3

[Article by Simon Stefani, Politburo candidate, secretary of the Party Committee for the Tirana District: "Steel-like Ideological and Organizational Unity--a Decisive Factor in Exercising the Party's Leading Role"]

[Text] The more than 35 years that have passed since the founding of the Albanian Workers Party have been for our people years with stressful events and great historic victories. The party founded and led by Comrade Enver Hoxha aroused the people to struggle and revolution, freed them from the national yoke and social oppression. Under its leadership, the country emerged from its age-old backwardness and entered upon the bright road of socialism. "One of the main factors," said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Seventh Party Congress, "that has enabled our party to insure throughout its life its own leading role, the hegemony of the working class, in such a full, monolithic and effective manner, is its steel-like ideological and organizational unity." This sound unity, as emphasized by Lenin and Stalin, is an indispensable condition for the proletarian party to perform its historic mission. It constitutes the basis of the unity of the working class and the working masses in the struggle to seize power and build socialism and communism. Without the Marxist-Leninist unity of its ranks, the party cannot have a clear, uniform Marxist-Leninist line guiding the struggle of the masses to the goal. This unity, which has always characterized our party, has also been the foundation of the revolutionary unity of the working people with the party. It has served as the most powerful weapon in the hands of the party to parry the enemy's blows from within and from without, to overcome every difficulty and to fulfill with honor its tasks in the revolution and socialist construction. It is precisely because such a unity has existed that our party has never deviated from the straight road, has been able to resist the disruptive efforts of the revisionists, especially the Khrushchevites, and has properly played the leading role.

The unity of our party is above all an ideological unity, based on fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, on the defense of purity and on its creative development. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the proletarian party needs not just any kind of unity but Marxist-Leninist unity: any other kind of unity would be

opportunism, a conciliatory stand toward anti-Marxist trends fatal to the cause of revolution and socialism. This is a matter of profound principle, in which no concessions whatsoever are permissible.

Ever since its founding and down to our days, the Albanian Workers Party has acted as the party of the working class, expressing and achieving the hegemony of that class in revolution and in the building of socialism. It has fulfilled that mission because it has always been oriented by Marxism-Leninism and, on that basis, it has annealed its unity in the struggle to solve the very difficult new problems in every stage of the revolution. Marxism-Leninism has served our party as a theoretical basis for working out a correct revolutionary line, strategy and tactics in accordance with internal and external conditions, with the stages of the revolution and the construction of socialism. The party's documents and Comrade Enver's works are a concrete embodiment of the purity and creative application of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism in revolution and socialist construction; they are Marxism-Leninism in operation under our conditions.

Our party has not tolerated and does not tolerate the existence in the party of two or more lines, trends or factions. Hence, the unity of its ranks has likewise been growing stronger through a hard and resolute class struggle against the most varied types of ideological enemies that have operated inside and outside of the party and have been agents of the exploiting classes and foreign enemies, from A. Lula and S. Premtja, Y. Deshnica and S. Maleshova, Koci Xoxeja and B. Spahiu, T. Jakova and L. Belishova down to F. Pacrami and B. Balluku, A. Kellezi and K. Theodhosi, and so forth. All these enemies, by their views and activities, have aimed to draw our party away from the Marxist-Leninist line, to make it degenerate and to leave the working class and the workers without their leading staff in revolution and socialist construction. Ideological unity has also been strengthened by an all-around daily class struggle conducted by the party organs against the remnants and blemishes of patriarchal, feudal, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideology, against the ideological influences of the overthrown classes and their remnants, as well as of the new antisocialist elements; against the continual pressure of the ideological aggression of the capitalist-revisionist world, which aims to plant the seed of degeneration. What catastrophic consequences a departure from the positions of Marxism-Leninism entail for the revolutionary movement of the working class and its party is now clearly attested to by the negative experience of the degeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and other ex-communist parties which have been submerged in the mire of revisionism and have degenerated into tools and standard-bearers of the counterrevolution. Our party has come down to our days with an unbreakable Marxist-Leninist ideological unity because it has never tolerated even the least concession to opportunist and revisionist views, has fought with determination and has kept its ranks pure, applying the Leninist teaching that there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary ideology, and that any weakening and underestimation of socialist ideology is a strengthening of enemy ideology. This resolute and principled stand of the party has brought it to the forefront of the fight against modern revisionism. In the ideological disputes



with the Yugoslav and Soviet revisionists, our party has made and is making its historically and internationally important contribution to the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to the unmasking of the counterrevolutionary essence of modern revisionism.

Appraising highly the vital importance of ideological unity, our party has striven to keep Marxism-Leninism from remaining the property of a limited number of persons and to have it appropriated by all the masses of communists, by urban and rural workers, so that this ideology may not be used as a mere adornment and for fruitless intellectual debates, but may be closely linked with the practical tasks of revolution and socialist construction. Another important task within this framework is a knowledge and continual study of the materials of the Seventh Party Congress embodying the party's Marxist-Leninist line, and in which the fundamental problems of the present and prospective development of our country and the international revolutionary movement are set forth and resolved from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism. The study and assimilation of those materials are fruitful when closely linked together and applied in the daily work of performing the concrete tasks in production, in the struggle to render ineffective the effects of the encirclement and blockade; when one conducts the class struggle consistently and without any concession in every direction for the defense and strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Marxist-Leninist ideological unity characterizing our party as a whole becomes a reality when it is applied by every communist, party organization and party directing forum. It is, above all, unity concerning its general line and directives, which implies profound ideological conviction about them, consistent enforcement and their defense against all comers. The experience of certain party organizations and of the Tirana district, as well as in some government departments, and so forth, shows that passive and indifferent attitudes toward distortions of the party line, the idea that "there is someone to take care of those problems," that "it is someone else's duty," and so on, open the way to breaching Marxist-Leninist ideological unity, to the dissemination of liberal, bureaucratic and intellectualistic concepts, and leave the enemies a free hand. Therefore, it is a fundamental duty of every communist to strengthen vigilance in defending the party line and in enforcing it in every link and level of the party's work.

On the other hand, unity of thought is also necessary on every concrete matter, on every action in daily life. The local organizations and the leading forums are constantly discussing and analyzing, in a Marxist-Leninist spirit and in conformity with the party's internal democracy, problems having to do with the interpretation and enforcement of the party's line in various fields of life--political-ideological, economic, defense, and so forth--in the sectors and conditions in which a specific party organization or forum acts and leads. On the basis of those analyses, decisions are also made on the proper methods of solution. Those decisions have to do with particular questions, but they always have to be resolved in accordance with the general line of the party, being the fruit of sound unity of thought.

The ideological unity in our party is not and must not be a formal unity. It has nothing to do with the "tranquil" situations and the lukewarm ideological life led by some party organizations. It is precisely those phenomena that open the way to opportunistic compromise with alien ideological concepts and manifestations, with shortcomings and errors. Sound ideological unity is achieved and strengthened by the conflict of opposites carried on within the party organizations, through principled debate, always guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and our party's line, by discussing opinions, and by principled criticism and self-criticism. The application on these norms makes it possible to expose and strike at concepts and practices that do not conform with the party line and to insure the sound unity of thought of communists about the problems discussed and decided in every party organization and forum.

The Marxist-Leninist unity of our party is, at the same time, organizational, a fighting unity of action; otherwise, ideological unity would remain a mere adornment without value. The Marxist-Leninist party is needed by the working class not only in order to formulate the tasks ideologically and to bring socialist consciousness into its ranks, but also as a staff to organize and guide all the revolutionary activity of the working masses in revolution and socialist construction. Unity of action implies as an indispensable condition the struggle to enforce the decisions of the directing forums and the party organizations. This is an essential feature of our party as a party of the new type, as a Marxist-Leninist party. In its whole glorious history, our party has never separated words from actions. It has educated its members to be vanguard fighters, ready to launch themselves with initiative into all the battles of practical revolutionary warfare, to merge all their physical and mental forces and energies to put into effect the party's directives and decisions. By their self-denial, heroism and example, the members of our party have led the way for the broad masses and have mobilized them in the fight for the cause of the revolution and socialist construction. Therefore, the party has devoted and is devoting very great attention to the quality of its members, to their leavening with a fitness to act as revolutionaries. Indifferent, listless, passive people, who show no readiness to enforce the party's line and decisions, can have no place in its ranks. Connected herewith is also the careful work that has to be done by every local organization and forum with the new blood entering the party, with the party candidates, who must always be in the forefront and ready to go wherever there are conflicts and the most difficult front. The party members must always be revolutionaries, unyielding fighters for the defense and purity of the line, determined to the end to serve the party and the people under all circumstances, ready for every sacrifice that may be required in the name of revolution and socialism. Being in the party is not a privilege, but a great and responsible duty.

Organizational unity demands strict discipline of every communist or member of the elected forums in the fight to enforce the decisions to the end. Without this discipline, unity would be false and formal, since in the last analysis it is precisely enforcement that is the decisive thing. This is important because, as shown by the experience even in the Tirana district,

there are party organizations that concentrate their attention on the discussion of problems and the drafting of the respective decisions, but never show such attention to the execution of the decisions as well, to the exploitation of all means, to the various ways and measures to insure their realization, and do not exercise control or demand a proper accounting for the tasks assigned to communists. Control and rendition of an accounting by all communists place the organization in a fighting, acting, mobilizing position. They are indispensable for defending and enforcing the party line.

The unity of thought and action, the organizational unity of the party, is based on the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms sanctioned in the statute upon which the party is built and functions as a whole with its organs and organizations. The negative experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other ex-communist parties confirms that departure not only from Marxist-Leninist ideological principles but from organizational ones leads to the weakening and degeneration of the party. Rigorous respect for organizational principles and norms, on the other hand, insures not only the conscious unification of all the forces of the party in support of its line but enables their effective action in a single direction to achieve the party's aims, its grand program; it insures a steel-like discipline on the basis of democratic centralism and a broad field for creative initiative.

The party's organizational norms and principles are obligatory for every communist, party organization and directing forum. Every communist must defend and execute them, and must show vigilance with regard to every act that harms or violates them. Experience shows that the party's enemies--as was also the case with the antiparty groups unmasked in recent years--have tried to violate the organizational principles and norms so as to place themselves outside of party discipline and control, disrupt unity and assert their counterrevolutionary principles. This very harmful practice noted in certain government departments and central institutions and condemned by the party has also been connected with the opportunistic and conformist liberal stands of some communists and local organizations which have not reported and resisted the violation of those norms immediately and resolutely. Combating the influences of such a practice, the party organizations have now sharpened their vigilance in this respect and are waging a better fight to enforce the norms regulating the party's internal life, being guided by the orders of Comrade Enver, who teaches us that all communists are equal before the organizational norms and answer alike for the preservation of party unity: in the local organization there is no hierarchy, there are no superiors or subordinates; in it the communists retain equal responsibility for the party's affairs, and an accounting to the last detail is given and demanded for duties and responsibilities.

Nor must one underestimate the manifestations of disruption of unity in some party organizations of our district, which are caused chiefly by ambitions, careerist aims, factionalism, ties of relationship and sickly family favoritism, which bring on quarrels and harm their unity. Elimination of these negative phenomena requires not only a better knowledge of the organizational

principles and norms and their enforcement but an ideological class understanding of the nature of these alien phenomena which harm party unity, and also a further rise in the general ideological level in those organizations. As emphasized in the decisions of the Seventh Congress, it is necessary for the party organizations to do more fruitful educational work for a deeper understanding of the organizational principles and norms and for a resolute fight against concepts and practices that lead some communists to destroy unity.

The organizational unity of thought and action presupposes the submission of everyone to the decision taken collegially, by a majority of votes. No one, whoever he may be, is allowed to impose his subjectivistic thinking, will and desires upon the party organization.

The uninterrupted strengthening of the unity of thought and action is a permanent duty of every communist, party organization and forum, for it is this unity that has made our party invincible to every attack of internal and external enemies. It has been and remains a powerful weapon to overcome every difficulty and obstacle and discharge with honor the great tasks which we face. With this steel-like ideological and organizational unity, our party, guided and inspired by the life-giving teachings of Comrade Enver, has girded itself to work and fight to put into effect the historic decisions of the seventh congress, which open up new prospects for the socialist construction of the country.

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## ALBANIA

### ROLE OF NONANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS EXAMINED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Jan 77 pp 2-3

[Article by Dr Servet Pellumbi: "A Correct Understanding of the Two Types of Contradictions--A Necessary Condition for the Successful Conduct of the Class Struggle"]

[Text] The great victories won by our people under the party's leadership in the development of the revolution and the construction of socialism, which have been generalized in a scientific manner by Comrade Enver in his report to the Seventh Party Congress, are connected with the fact that our party has known how to apply Marxism-Leninism faithfully and creatively, to mobilize and set in motion the broad working masses, to adhere resolutely to it and to carry on the class struggle consistently, always evaluating correctly the two types of contradictions existing in the socialist society. The development of socialism, as shown by historical experience, is a long and complicated process requiring the undivided and ever better qualified leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, which is the nucleus of the subjective factor, the "subjective factor number one." In this process, our party, loyal to the interests of the people and socialism, in elaborating its line and directives has borne in mind the dialectics of the development of socialism, the factors which determine it, and has known how to discover new features, new moving forces to advance ever farther the construction and defense of socialism in our country, while the cadres, communists and masses have been taught by it to be realists, to see socialism as it is, with all its indisputable superiorities, but also with all its difficulties and contradictions, which must be recognized and always resolved correctly.

In the socialist society, the party teaches us, there are two types of contradictions: the antagonistic contradictions between us and our enemies and the nonantagonistic contradictions within the people. The acceptance or non-acceptance of these two types of contradictions in the socialist society is a question of prime importance and a dividing line between the Marxists-Leninists and the modern revisionists.

The Soviet revisionists spread the view that the transitional period ends with the construction of the economic base of socialism and the liquidation of the exploiting classes, and thereafter one can no longer speak of antagonistic contradictions. Indeed, some of them go even farther and say that accepting the existence of antagonistic contradictions in socialism "means putting a sign of equality between socialism and capitalism!" They preach that in socialism there are only nonantagonistic contradictions; indeed even these gradually recede into the background; that socialism is "the dialectic of unity," not "the dialectic of struggle"; that the existence and development of socialism do not depend upon the conflict of opposites and the resolution of contradictions!

The spread of such idealistic and metaphysical concepts is needed by the Soviet revisionists in order to hide the profound antagonisms that today gnaw at Soviet society, which, as Comrade Enver said to the seventh party congress, "has become bourgeois down to its smallest pores, and capitalism has been restored in all fields," in order to draw the working class and the working masses away from the revolutionary struggle to restore the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our party, guided by the ideas of the Marxist-Leninist classics concerning socialism, has fought and is fighting hard against the false bourgeois-revisionist representations concerning development in the socialist society. It has always demanded of the cadres, communists and masses that they refrain from an idealistic attitude toward objective reality; that they shall never view development under socialism as a process that "runs as if on oil," without contradictions or class struggle, since it is easy to make an abstraction of the contradictions encountered at every step in real life, but in this case the reality would be distorted, and this would have negative consequences in practical activity.

Making the dialectic development of the socialist society the object of a thorough study, from one stage to another, and coupling the factors which advance the revolution and the construction of socialism with the factors which hinder it and may turn it back to capitalism unless combated rigorously and systematically, our party has attached prime importance to the knowledge of the two types of contradictions which continue to operate in the socialist society even after the construction of the economic base of socialism. It has constantly demanded that the party's ideological work make the character of the contradictions in the socialist society perfectly clear, since a misunderstanding and confusion of the antagonistic contradictions with the non-antagonistic ones leads to vacillation and error with severe consequences for socialism.

Our country's experience, which is that of a country building socialism according to the life-giving teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and in which "the dictatorship of the proletariat has always stood strong and invincible," shows that so long as elements of the former exploiting classes, the remnants of the past in the consciences of men, and the influences of alien bourgeois-revisionist ideologies continue to exist in the socialist society, and as long

as new antisocialist elements are born from our ranks under the influence of the all-around pressure of external and internal enemies, it is not only possible, but necessary to speak of the existence of antagonistic contradictions in the socialist society. Not to see and treat the contradictions between us and our enemies, between the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which has become dominant in our society, and the alien bourgeois-revisionist remnants and influences, the contradictions between the two ways, the socialist and the capitalist way of development, and so forth, as antagonistic contradictions, and not to take step-by-step measures to resolve them means abandoning the class struggle, which "forms the great motive force for advancing the socialist revolution." Although the internal antagonistic contradictions in socialism do not derive from the essence of socialist relations in production, which are relationships of cooperation and mutual aid between the classes and working strata, but are the consequence of the vestiges of the old society retained in socialism and of the external pressure of the capitalist world, this--the party teaches us--must never result in ignoring or underestimating the antagonistic contradictions, which, in one form or another, will continue to exist during the whole historical period of socialism and will disappear entirely only under communism.

During this whole period, the antagonistic contradictions require careful treatment; and for their solution, as Comrade Enver enjoins, it is important for us to carry on the class struggle correctly, to defend and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat incessantly.

On the other hand, our party emphasizes that under socialism everywhere and at all times, in all fields and in all stages of the construction of socialism, there are a number of nonantagonistic contradictions without which one cannot conceive the development of the socialist society and its peculiarities. Such, for example, are the contradictions between the productive forces and particular socialist relationships in production, between production and consumption, between the equality of workers with relation to the means of production and a certain inequality existing in the field of distribution; between the interests of the moment and the prospective future, between the base and the various elements of the superstructure, between the advanced and the backward in the performance of tasks; the differences between town and country, between mental and physical workers, and so forth.

Many such examples of nonantagonistic contradictions can be cited from the economic and political fields as well as from the spiritual field. The effort to recognize and resolve the contradictions arising in these fields is a general condition and source for the development of the socialist society. They have their objective basis in the essential economic and social differences which exist in the socialist society, in the level of the productive forces and the relations in production, which, in the degree of their development and maturity, as Comrade Enver points out, "are still far from being thoroughly communist." Socialism contains great and unparalleled possibilities for development, advantages that have never existed and could never have existed before under any social order; but the degree of exploitation of those possibilities in the stages of the development of socialism has

definite limits, depending upon the level reached. And this has been the cause of certain nonantagonistic contradictions, whose knowledge and resolution advance development, raise ever higher the role of the conscious factor in the process of development; and so forth.

The nonantagonistic nature of the contradictions arising on this basis in the socialist society depend upon the very nature of the socialist order, as an order reposing on the common socialist ownership of the means of production, on the unity of the people, grounded on the community of fundamental political and economic interests between the working class, the cooperativist peasants and the popular intelligentsia, and inspired by the same Marxist-Leninist ideology and led by the revolutionary party of the working class. It is clear that all workers are interested in knowing and resolving the non-antagonistic contradictions that characterize the life of the socialist society.

Defending the Marxist-Leninist thesis that development under socialism, as everywhere else, takes place on the basis of contradictions, the conflict of opposites, the party and Comrade Enver have also condemned and controverted the views of the Yugoslav revisionists, according to which "bureaucratic socialism" (a designation aimed against true socialism) is caught in the vise of its own contradictions and must therefore be liquidated and replaced by so-called "self-administering socialism," "liberal, democratic" socialism. Among the zealous propagators of this revisionist view have been F. Pacrami and other enemies of the party and people who have contended that the contradictions in our socialist society should be represented as having no way out, with a dark sense of pessimism that is typical of the bourgeois-revisionist preachings. Thus, with the object of representing socialism among us as caught in the vise of its own contradictions, F. Pacrami and his followers have declared that we have engaged long enough in the fight between "us and the enemy" and that we ought to be talking on both sides mainly about the fight "among us." Their purpose has been, on the one hand, to leave the enemy free to act while, on the other hand, treating our people as such and thus undermining the people's unity with the party, by coming out with banners for "anticonservatism," for "the new," for "the modern," and so forth. Our party has rejected these "theorizings" and has stressed that, under the conditions in which socialism is being built, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the working class, with its own revolutionary staff, the Communist Party, at its head, it is entirely possible, in reliance on our own forces, to recognize and correctly resolve the internal contradictions and insure the constant progress of the revolution and the construction of socialism. True socialism, then, cannot be caught in the vise of its own contradictions. Being caught in the vise of its own contradictions is typical of the capitalist society, and those contradictions can only be resolved by overthrowing capitalism; it is also typical of the "self-administering socialism" which is propagated by the Yugoslav revisionists and which, as Comrade Enver says, has led to permanent political and ideological confusion, to a weak and uneven economic development, to great social differences, to national quarrels and a degeneration of spiritual life.



Our party and Comrade Enver, rejecting both the anti-Marxist views of the Soviet revisionists, who, for well known reasons, deny the existence of antagonistic contradictions in socialism, and the eclectic bourgeois views of the Yugoslav revisionists, who represent socialism as caught in the vise of antagonistic contradictions, emphasize that both concepts, though starting from opposite directions, lead to the same conclusion and have the same object and the same ideological basis--namely, revisionism. These anti-Marxist concepts, this distorted representation of socialism, are widely propagated by the Soviet and Yugoslav revisionists for the purpose of striking at scientific socialism and justifying the restoration of capitalism in their countries. Therefore, our party has regarded and continues to regard the stand toward both types of contradictions that exist in socialism and determine its development, as a theoretical and practical matter of prime importance and is striving to create in the minds of our people clear materialistic dialectic concepts concerning development in the socialist society, to combat idealistic views or remnants, superficial thinking and one-sided and simplistic attitudes toward this great problem. This is important both for heightening vigilance and successfully combating the false representations of socialism disseminated by the bourgeois and revisionist ideologs, the possible influences of those concepts on us, and also for exposing the roots of opportunistic and sectarian attitudes, which are encountered and will be encountered in life so long as the class struggle is carried on in one form or another. Experience shows that both opportunism and sectarianism confuse the two types of contradictions existing in our society. Opportunism artificially narrows the sphere of antagonistic contradictions because in essence it is a compromise with the class enemy, with the alien influences of bourgeois-revisionist ideology; it is a tolerant, liberal, sentimental attitude indifferent to the negative phenomena obstructing the progress of the revolution; a lack of courage to take a stern and rigid stand in accordance with the party's orientations, toward people who degenerate, violate the laws, damage socialist property, or hold anti-socialist attitudes at work, in society, and so forth. Sectarianism, on the other hand, viewing everything with exaggerated doubt, magnifying the shortcomings, weaknesses and differences, and fetishizing administrative measures "to keep on the inside," artificially widens the sphere of antagonistic contradictions; that is, it also regards as enemies those who may have made mistakes or become the exponents of alien influences but who in general are our people; and so on.

Hence, both opportunism and sectarianism have essentially the same roots and lead to the same results in the treatment of the two types of contradictions: the one undermines the unity of the people and the party from the right, the other from the left; both open the way to revisionism and the restoration of capitalism. Opportunism has been and remains the chief danger in this matter also; however, it must be underscored that, as Comrade Enver enjoined the seventh congress, "opportunism cannot be successfully combated unless sectarianism is fought at the same time, and vice versa." In the fight against opportunism and sectarianism we need to bear in mind that both of them are incited by the class enemy, who, in order to realize his counterrevolutionary aims, to take the fortress from within and liquidate the socialist order,

tries to incite the remnants of the old exploiting classes to action. But, in particular, as Comrade Enver told the Seventh Congress, they pin their hopes on other enemies of socialism born in the very bosom of the socialist society, on those men who break under the pressure of external and internal enemies and who finally move away from the revolution and degenerate into counterrevolutionaries. To this end, the pressure of the enemy is aimed at broadening the sphere of antagonistic contradictions as much as possible, to convert the nonantagonistic contradictions into antagonistic ones, to sow ideological confusion and encourage opportunistic and sectarian attitudes toward the two types of contradictions existing in the socialist society; and so forth. This is why the party teaches us to view and combat as alien the opportunistic and sectarian attitudes in any form in which they appear in life, to understand them rightly and not to confuse the two types of contradictions existing in the socialist society; to mark the boundary between them correctly and resolve them according to their nature and in conformity with the Marxist-Leninist teachings of our party.

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CSO: 2100

DUTIES OF STATE INSPECTORATE DISCUSSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 22 Jan 77 p 2

[Article by Sul Baholl, chairman of the State Inspectorate: "State Control Must Operate Vigorously To Enforce Tasks and Decisions"]

[Text] The successful fulfillment of the great tasks set by the seventh party congress makes it necessary, among other things, to improve and raise to a higher level the method and revolutionary style of work and management of the state and economic organizations themselves. Especially important in this respect is the strengthening of continual and all-around control by those organs to enforce the tasks and directives set by the party.

Control under socialism is an objective law. In addition to continual ideological, political, persuasive and clarifying work with the masses to get them to know, analyze and understand the directives and decisions, as well as the organizational measures that must be taken to put them into effect, it is necessary to exercise a most complete and all-around state control. This necessity is still stronger in our country, under the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement, the class struggle waged by external and internal enemies, as well as within our ranks; the ideological, political, economic and military pressures exerted by them on our country and people. This control must consist in the correct enforcement of the party's line and directives, in the performance of the tasks by every worker and collective, in the quantity and quality of work and the amount of compensation, in the enforcement of the rules and laws of our socialist state, and so forth. In particular, the performance of the great tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan by applying the principle of self-reliance demands a growth in the conscience and sense of responsibility in order to fulfill the plan tasks in all indicators precisely and promptly. Any concession in this regard causes damage to socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland. Therefore, the fight against liberal and bureaucratic manifestations, concepts and practices, violations of plan and financial discipline, concealment of internal reserves and indiscriminate use of means and funds, as well as other manifestations of this nature which are encountered here and there, demand further perfection of the management of the economy. This is closely connected with the enforcement of a strict and continual control by all organs and in every link of the

economy. This control, which, as was stated at the Seventh Party Congress, must be raised to a higher level, insures the correct enforcement of the party's economic policy and the laws of the state.

In spite of the improvements, the party Central Committee and government have constantly emphasized that the directing work, style and method of work of the state organs, especially control over the enforcement of decisions, must be continually revolutionized.

At the Seventh Party Congress, Comrade Enver said: "Today, when social production is assuming broad proportions, when the economic-social problems are becoming more complicated, it is necessary particularly for the government departments and central institutions to perfect the management and scientific organization of the economy, to further revolutionize the method and style of their work, to bear full responsibility for performing the plan tasks and putting into effect the party's directives and orientations. They must strengthen control and aid to the local organs, acquaint themselves closely with the situation, find timely solutions to the requests made by the localities and undertake scientific studies to develop their branches and sectors." Putting these tasks into effect involves a large work program for all the state and economic organs at all levels, from the leadership of the ministries down to the directors of the departments or brigades in the enterprises and cooperatives. Among other things, every one of their workers is required to reflect deeply on how he has worked to control the enforcement of the directives and decisions, where there have been and are shortcomings, and how he must work and struggle in the future to correct them.

The weaknesses in the exercise of control over the enforcement of decisions and tasks are of a subjective nature. In some cases they derive from an improper understanding of its political and ideological importance. On the other hand, there are shortcomings in the good all-around organization of the work of organizing systematic control with regard to the enforcement of decisions and tasks, inadequate efforts to find and apply the most varied, vigorous and effective forms of control in the study and dissemination of advanced experience; and so on. The perfecting and strengthening of control will be achieved in an uncompromising struggle against the manifestations of liberalism, opportunism, bureaucracy and technocratism which have been noted in various sectors.

Every worker is required not only to understand correctly the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the principle of self-reliance, but also concrete and well organized work in every link for the proper management and administration of the economy. The need to strengthen control must be seen in close conjunction with the tasks arising under the conditions of this encirclement and fierce imperialist-revisionist blockade. Their defeat, as stressed at the Seventh Party Congress, demands the performance and overfulfillment of all the tasks in the state plan; that we continue to produce bread and petroleum in this country and constantly increase them; that we save everywhere by reducing the costs of production, service and construction,

the norms of expenditure of raw and other materials, and by raising the quality; and all these things by consistently putting into practice the revolutionary principle of self-reliance.

In the process of working to enforce the decisions, the tasks and the economic plans, it is necessary to have a strict, disciplined and organized control over enforcement, for, as Comrade Enver teaches us, "without control there is no way to verify the correctness of a directive, the result of the work done; one cannot recognize or discover the difficulties, obstacles, weaknesses and contradictions and take measures to overcome them." Before starting control of any degree of breadth whatsoever, we must clearly determine the reason why it is done, have a good knowledge of the directives, laws, decisions, orders and tasks set for the problem on which control is to be exercised, and define clearly the matters to be controlled, the place where the control is to be exercised and the time over which it is to extend.

The practice of the State Inspectorate shows that not only are controls not always exercised in due time and in many cases left to chance, but sometimes they are not even well organized. The controls which we have exercised in a good many enterprises, farm cooperatives, sections and executive committees of district people's councils, ministries and other central organs confirm that some of these organs have not organized systematic controls with groups of workers as they should in order to verify the enforcement of decisions and tasks and give aid to their dependent organs and institutions. In many cases the controls are done on operational problems, by isolated cadres, during very short lengths of time, which does not always suffice for a thorough knowledge of the situation, a full and all-around study of the problems and, as a consequence, the measures adopted are not always complete do not contribute sufficiently to improving the work, developing and advancing the sectors, branches, enterprises, or the district with regard to the problem for which the control is exercised.

The groups that go on control missions from the state and economic organs need to involve not only the cadres and specialists of the various branches, but also vanguard workers and cooperativists, who will render good aid during the control. This has been very well confirmed by the work of the State Inspectorate in actual practice. This will also create conditions for the better organization of controls, as well as for making broader ones. Nor should the controls be onesided, as is often the case, seeing how the plan has been realized in quantity only, and not seeing how other very important economic-financial indicators have been realized, such as expenditures, consumption of raw and other materials, costs, earnings, the fulfillment of the norms and labor productivity, and so on. Another shortcoming often noted in controls is that a control is considered completed and the controllers' work done with the observation of the shortcomings and weaknesses in work, with the submission and acceptance of the control report, and with the pledge that measures will be taken to improve the work. The party has continually drawn attention to the fact that the object of controls is not only to observe shortcomings, to give some orders and make some proposals, but also to take

measures on the spot to remove the shortcomings and weaknesses verified during the control, and to adopt concrete measures with time limits to be taken in the future to improve the work, carry out the decisions and tasks, and also move the work forward.

Of special importance in the system of proletarian control, in which party control is above everything else, is the general state control, which is exercised by the state and economic organs in all links, in the enterprises, farm cooperatives and everywhere else. The exercise of this form of control demands that manifestations of formalism be combated, that the sense of responsibility and the demand for an accounting be heightened with regard to the enforcement of tasks, laws, regulations and other provisions in force.

The full and effective control of the enforcement of decisions, tasks, plan indicators, and so forth, is only insured by the broad participation of the Communists, the cadres and all the working masses. Whoever fails to understand and persistently enforce the line of the masses does great damage to the successful execution of the decisions and plan tasks. Worker and peasant control is decisive in the direct control of measures. The party's orientations concerning this control and the continual teachings of the party and Comrade Enver, as well as the tasks set in this respect by the Seventh Party Congress, are very important in raising to a higher level the control of the working class and cooperativist peasants over the state and economic organs, as well as to insure ever better and more prompt execution of the party's policy, and the decisions and tasks which it has set in all sectors of our country's life. The good organization and preparation of direct control by the working class and the peasants under the direction of the local organizations and the party committees to control the enforcement of the decisions and tasks by the state and economic organs is also an indispensable condition for raising to a higher level the work of controlling the execution of the decisions by the state and economic organs themselves. As the party directs, a close coordination and cooperation must be established between worker and peasant control and state control. State control in the performance of its tasks must rest strongly upon worker and peasant control. Only so can state control insure the proper results, become complete, effective and flawless.

The perfecting and further strengthening of state control according to the party's teachings and directives will further revolutionize the method and style of work of all the state and economic organs in enforcing the directives of the Seventh Party Congress.

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## BULGARIA

### SCHOLARLY ACHIEVEMENTS OF MIDSHIPMEN UNSATISFACTORY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 Mar 77 p 2

[Captain First Rank Neno Kurdzhaliyski: "Before and After the Bell Rings:  
1. Failures of a Class"]

[Text] This year the most characteristic feature of the training process at the N. Y. Vaptsarov VNMU [Higher People's Navy Academy] is that it is taking place under the sign of the remarkable decisions taken at the 11th party congress and the BCP Central Committee July Plenum, and the struggle for high effectiveness and quality of teaching and studies, and for decisive grade improvements. The recently completed first semester at the school revealed that, compared with last year, the number of failing grades dropped by 30 percent. Nevertheless, six percent of the January examinations session consisted of failing grades. We assigned ourselves the task of determining the most typical reasons for failing grades and the best ways for their elimination.

We could have selected a class from the upper courses. Indeed, here we would have seen how to struggle for high grades both during the semester and the examinations. We could have studied the grades in a class of first-year students. Here again, however, we would not have gained a precise picture, for the period of adaptation of yesterday's high school students has still not been completed and is still influencing the students. We chose a second-year class--mechanics--a platoon commanded by midshipman student Nikolay Nikolov.

Let us consider the factual results achieved by the class platoon in the past examination session. It is true that the tests were difficult: mathematics, mechanics and knowledge of metals. Initially it seemed that failing grades were few--seven percent of all examination grades. The general grade of the platoon, however, was only 3.73. Particularly alarming was the share of average grades--30 percent. This substantial figure is more than a harmless phenomenon and cannot be ignored. Let us not forget that here we are training people with engineering skills, people who have already surmounted high school methods and who are mastering knowledge as is required by a higher educational institution.

There were six failing grades in a single class platoon and a single examination session! This means that 19 percent of the students had failing grades. Yet, a failing grade is very eloquent: it shows that a given subject is being underestimated, that studies during the semester were not systematic, and that people were relying only on the few days of the examination session. Is 19 percent a low figure? I ask this, for some people consider such results quite normal.

#### Who Is Lagging and Why?

Probably senior seaman student Vladimir Vulev will become a good commander. He is an interesting personality. He is ready to do everything he can for the collective and his comrades. However, he is careless when it comes to his individual training. "He is difficult to mobilize and rapidly becomes negligent," say unanimously about him Senior Lieutenant Grigor Genov, and PO Second Class student Stanimir Vulchovski, Komsomol company committee secretary.

Last year, at the first session, Vulev had no failing grade. Yet, he had three failing grades in the second. Characteristically, however, he had no difficulty in eliminating them. In the final session he had a failing grade in mathematics which he also made up easily. The question is the following: why does he allow such failing grades? Studying more regularly and systematically he could join the good and even the best students.

Should the question of self-confident and wise guys in the platoon be raised, everyone would unanimously point at PO Second Class student Dimitur Bakalov. Last year he raised a failing grade to "good." At the January session he was given a failing grade in mathematics. He could remain on the "very good" level. However, his feeling that he knows and that he is the fierce enemy of "grade-seekers" prevents him from assuming a position of honor in the grading. Obviously, Bakalov confuses the desire for greater knowledge with rote learning and with the negative self-seeking pursuit of high grades. Yet, no one could deny that the failing grade he was given is the factual result of his lack of systematic studies. Perhaps such an unjustified self-confidence is a screen behind which he conceals mental laziness and unwillingness to work conscientiously.

A student told me that a test is simply a question of luck. True, a certain percentage of luck does exist in an examination. However, this luck increases with the amount of knowledge acquired and with conscientious and systematic studies.

As we mentioned, one of the big groups of students in the platoon is that of students with a passing grade.

The results achieved so far by this group in its training indicate that unless they increase drastically the quantity and quality of their work they will always be among the laggards. Some of them may even have a worse fate.



It should be proper to ask such comrades if they are not ashamed of their low grades. They were successful in passing their candidate student competitive examination. They voluntarily selected the manly and proud navy profession...A passing grade is one of the most harmful and dangerous phenomena. It indicates the desire to be satisfied with minimal knowledge and half-measure training. Yet, tomorrow these people will be roaming the seas and will be entrusted with complex ship equipment and armaments. Their subordinates will have faith in their ability to take them to safety even at most difficult times. How would they accomplish this with their mediocre knowledge and training?

The very good and excellent students also account for a major share of the low grades of the class platoon.

Very few among them display any concern for the collective success. Once they have passed their examination well why should they aspire to maximal success. Quite justifiably we could blame here PO Second Class students Borislav Mladenov, and Dragomir Belev, who are satisfied with small accomplishments yet who could easily be the equals of the excellent student of the platoon PO Second Class student Antoni Naumov. What is the justification for a grade "four" in such an easy test such as knowledge of metals awarded PO Second Class student Aleksandur Yanchev, secretary of the platoon Komsomol society, or PO Second Class student Mitko Delev, who was an excellent student last year while his grades now have dropped by a full unit?

As we mentioned at the beginning, we looked at a class platoon with the lowest grade in the second-year mechanics class. However, the truth lies also in the fact that here there are strong personalities and that the platoon has a great potential providing that everyone would work according to his capabilities. The strength of this small collective is confirmed by the fact that it did not allow a single student to drop out as a result of failing grades as has been the case in many other class platoons. However, a number of reasons exist for losing the leading position and for the failures.

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BULGARIA

SOFIA YOUTH ORGAN BERATES BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA AIMED AT YOUTH

Sofia NARODNA MLADZHZH in Bulgarian 7 Mar 77 p 1 AU

[Radoslav Radev editorial: "The Great Purpose of Diversion"]

[Text] The bourgeois ideologists, naturally, do not often speak openly about the true purpose of their diversion. Nevertheless, the mask of "objectivity" which they wear imposes certain rules for the game. The game, however, demands creating an impression that the only concern of the bourgeois ideologists allegedly is to help us to be better informed and to contribute to... a more full application of the final document adopted in Helsinki. This is all. There is no other concern, no other purpose.

However, as a saying of our people goes: "The devil's horns always stick out." Perhaps this is why our ideological enemies are forced constantly to pass from indirect insinuations against the socialist states to interference in their domestic affairs. They are forced to give unsolicited advice on how to build our new society. The peoples of the socialist countries are as usual, today and in the past, the main target of this campaign. Nevertheless, the propaganda is planned and is being conducted in a manner likely to affect the young generation most of all.

Why this attention?

The reason probably lies in the assumption of the bourgeois ideological centers that the young people, with their characters still undeveloped and a lack of sufficient life experience, are most susceptible to influence. The strategic purpose, however, is to poison the consciousness of the generation to which the future belongs. It is clear what kind of future such a generation will shape. The bourgeois ideology propagandists think that it will suffice for this generation to adjust itself to the right wavelength, which these propagandists are so eagerly offering it.

We must admit that the plan is not badly concocted. The main target--namely the young generation--has also been well selected. It is silly to think

that the slanders could influence the well-tempered, revolutionary vanguard, those people who are ideologically mature and politically well oriented in our country and in the other socialist countries. The young people, however, could become somewhat influenced. The seed of doubt could be implanted, these young people could be lured, they could be softened by the myth of absolute freedom, of an absolutely free capitalist society. Perhaps they could oppose socialism....

In order to achieve this goal, bourgeois-ideological expansion is being organized. All slanders--about a "Soviet threat," about a violation of democracy, about nonimplementation of the documents agreed upon in Helsinki and so forth--are addressed to the young people as well. Their trust in the ideas of Marxism-Leninism must be undermined, their trust in the cause of the communist parties and in the USSR must be shaken.

In addition to these, so to say, generalized attacks, the bourgeois centers are planning and constantly implementing concrete actions, aimed directly at youths: an apolitical attitude, consumer approach, petit-bourgeois-mentality selfishness and individualism are being encouraged.

A particularly exploited, favorite subject is that of restricted rights and opportunities for young people in socialist countries, of the barriers and obstacles which are being created against them. Communism allegedly tries to level down individual personalities, it allegedly deprives them of their freedom and allegedly prevents the individual from developing his talents. Whether this is true or not: that is another question. The most important thing is that these people want us to believe this, they want us to defend ourselves. The truth of the saying: "If you tell many lies, something will be believed" is being confirmed once more.

What kind of barriers are they talking about? What right of young people has been taken from them?

Perhaps they have no right to study? No, they are even obligated to go to school to the eighth grade. The overwhelming majority of youths continue their studies after that. Does the fact that there is an influx of students into higher educational institutions show any lack of opportunities of education? Perhaps we should add the fact that young Bulgarian citizens do not pay one cent of fees for 11, 15 or 16 years of education? It is interesting that our ideological enemies do not make comparisons using these facts. Probably because they would need to list the tremendous amounts of money which are necessary for accomplishing one's education in the bourgeois states?

Perhaps young people have no right to work? Or, to put it more precisely, they cannot find any work? No, every citizen in our country would burst out laughing at such a statement. It is true that young people do not always find the work they want. Sometimes a young person is not sufficiently informed on professional opportunities and it is possible that such a youth

may be confused and commit a mistake. Then his comrades, the Komsomol and society will help him. Does this, however, mean that barriers are being created against him? The barriers exist elsewhere; they exist in places where young people (and not only young people) look for a job for months and cannot find it. Barriers exist in those places where when one is a member of a progressive organization, he is dismissed from his work. Of course, our enemies are somewhat embarrassed to talk frankly about this.

Perhaps young people have no right to display their talents and inclinations? Or perhaps they are deprived of the right to play sports, to go hiking, to rest and revitalize their strength in summer camps and recreation homes?

These questions could go on. None of them, however, needs a detailed answer or comment, so clear and categorical is the situation of young people's rights and the situation of so-called restrictions and barriers.

Nevertheless, in order to avoid misunderstandings, we should admit as follows: there are barriers in our country. They also exist in other socialist countries. These are barriers which are imposed by the laws and morality of our society and of our families. They are barriers against hooliganism, against moral decadence, against theft, crime and against the "small truth." These barriers, however, will never be lifted, because all nations wish to educate their youths correctly and are obliged to protect these youths against evil. Each nation relies upon its young people and wishes to see them as worthy successors.

The bourgeois ideologists do not like the fact that Bulgarian youths are devoted to their people, that they are loyal to the Communist Party, that they are active participants in the construction of socialism in their motherland. The great desire of our enemies is to introduce a split between the generations and to divert the young people from the path along which they are proceeding.

This great desire has had no effect on Soviet youths for as long as 60 years. It has had no effect throughout 32 years on Bulgarian youths. There should be no doubt that the forthcoming years and decades will not be different from the past.

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

PRESS RELEASES CC DIRECTIONS ON TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Mar 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Basic directions for the further development and perfection of the organization of the territory and settlements of the Bulgarian People's Republic, adopted by the BCP Central Committee plenum held on 9 and 10 March 1977]

[Text] The main goal of the policy conducted by the BCP is to constantly raise the people's living standard and improve the socialist way of life.

The policy of the party in the social sector exerted itself with particular emphasis after the historical April 1956 plenum of the BCP Central Committee. This policy was most brightly manifested in the decisions adopted by the December 1972 plenum of the BCP Central Committee and in the basic directions adopted by the 11th BCP Congress on the socioeconomic development of the Bulgarian People's Republic during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period. The congress outlined new tasks for the party in the economic and social sector. The implementation of these tasks is directly linked to territorial and settlements organization, to the improvement of housing conditions and of working and recreation conditions; it is linked to improvement in the organization of the social and natural environment; it is linked to the working out of a concept on the development of the settlements network.

The accelerated and dynamic development of the country in the last 2 decades also exercised a positive influence on territorial and settlements organization. Administrative-economic units were created--namely the okrugs. Agro-industrial complexes were organized as large agricultural enterprises. New directions for the development of the uniform system of comprehensive public services were adopted. Health resort complexes and settlement agglomerations [aglomeratsii--clusters of villages] were created. The first experiments for a comprehensive and harmonious organization of the environment were made. Suitable institutions and organizations were created for this. Integration with the socialist countries, and in particular with the Soviet Union, expanded.

The present stage and the qualitatively new tasks which stem from the 11th party congress decisions on the socioeconomic development of the country and the new approach to concentration and specialization of production impose greater requirements in defining and resolving the problems of territorial and settlements organization. The territorial organization must be considered as a comprehensive activity aimed at an efficient territorial organization and use of resources, at an efficient distribution of the various projects of material production and of nonproduction enterprises, at the coordination and coordinated creation of these projects in the purpose of creating a harmonious environment.

Evaluated in the light of the new requirements, the opportunities of the hitherto existing system of territorial and settlements organization are already exhausted. Certain unfavorable trends are appearing, such as incorrigible violations in certain intensively developing areas, abandoning of settlements by the population to an inadmissible extent, arbitrariness in the construction of settlements and in suburban areas, uniformity and dullness in the architecture of settlements, chaotic development of weekend-house districts and so forth.

An imbalance exists between the accelerated development of living standards and the organization of the territory of the country and of the inhabited settlements. The projects for workplaces, for housing and recreation are not being developed and built comprehensively enough, the same applies to public services and to the technological infrastructure. The econological balance of certain areas of our country is being disturbed.

The demands of a mature socialist society, of the scientific-technical revolution, the requirements of the application of the multiple goal-oriented approach in socioeconomic development--all these things demand that in the future the problems of territorial and settlements organization should be resolved on a qualitatively new basis, all the more so if we take into consideration the requirements for a decisive improvement in the efficiency of capital investments for modernization, reorganization and expansion of production funds and for the comprehensive building and development of inhabited settlements.

The principles of the formation and development of settlements systems [selishtni sistemi] and the new approach to the territorial and settlements organization were set forth by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the 11th congress and at the July plenum of the BCP Central Committee. In conformity with these principles considerable work has been accomplished for the preparation of a Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan for the Bulgarian People's Republic. Now the task is to accomplish intensive and goal-oriented work for the further perfection and development of the country's territorial development and settlements organization.

I. For a Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic

1. The party Central Committee positively evaluates the elaborations on the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic and considers it expedient that they serve as a basis for the final elaboration of this plan.

The Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan must be considered an integral part of the national comprehensive program to improve the living standard. This demands that the plan be prepared as an administration and planning document, in which, on a normative comprehensive basis, complex solutions are to be given for territorial organization, for the development and construction of inhabited settlements.

The Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan must be worked out, analyzed in detail and updated in coordination and in connection with the general scheme for the territorial distribution of productive forces. Through this plan the efficient and comprehensive utilization of the land and the construction of the environment should be evaluated, planned, assessed and controlled, as well as stimulated, in conformity with the plan on the country's socioeconomic development.

The indexes, norms and restrictive regulations of the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic are compulsory for all organs that carry out their activities in our country's territory.

2. The elaboration of the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic is based on the following principles:

--The long-term principle, which arises from the considerable period of time involved in the physical amortization of buildings and equipment and of various activities and from the lasting influence of natural and geographical conditions and factors, which exceed by many times the period for which long-term plans for the country's socioeconomic development are conceived.

--The comprehensive principles, according to which all systems, sectors and activities--which are objects of territorial and settlements organization--are to develop with a view to insuring national economic efficiency and a harmoniously built environment.

--The principle of continuity, which demands the periodic updating of the plan in connection with the elaboration and implementation of the five-year plans and in conformity with the long-term programs for the country's socioeconomic development.

--The normative principle, which demands that the creation and functioning of all systems of territorial and settlements organization must be carried out on the basis of a scientifically founded, normative system.

3. The Council of Ministers is to coordinate a program for the elaboration, implementation and updating of the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic covering the stages, schedules and executive organs, as well as the necessary resources.

The ministries, departments and okrug people's councils must prepare their prognoses, concepts and programs for the needs of the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan.

## II. On the Scientifically Founded Normative System of Territorial and Settlements Organization

4. A particularly important task is, as early as within the years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan, to create a scientifically founded normative system for the territorial and settlements organization as an integral part of the uniform system for dynamic normatives in our country. The system includes the following norms:

--The efficient use and protection of land resources, water resources and human resources.

--The purification of the air, water and soil, as well as their adaption to health and hygiene requirements.

--The insurance of a certain standard of satisfaction in the population as regards their environment.

--The achievement of the necessary degree of intensification of the territory and achievement of the construction of the projects forming the material-technical base of society.

5. The scientifically founded normative system of the territorial and settlements organization must be worked out by the "construction" national complex and by the State Planning Committee in cooperation with the ministries, departments and okrug people's councils, in conformity with the achievements of science and technical progress, in conformity with the experience of the advanced countries and in conformity with our possibilities.

6. The normative system for territorial and settlements organization on a national and okrug level is to be approved by the Council of Ministers.

7. The normative system must be periodically updated, in conformity with the tasks for the country's socioeconomic development and with topical needs and requirements.

8. The uniform normative system for territorial and settlements organization and for comprehensive building of the environment is binding on the following institutions:



--For the State Planning Committee in outlining restrictive activities as regards the intensification of the territory and the opportunities of coordinating production activities with the development of the settlements.

--For the complexes, ministries and departments that supervise regional activities in the country by developing and implementing the norms in their own areas.

--For the "construction" national complex in working out the territorial-organization and town development plans and projects, as well as in working out regulations, instructions and orders for their application.

### III. On Uniform Requirements and Strict Rules in the Organization of the Country's Territory

9. The further comprehensive utilization of the territory and the protection and processing of natural resources must be carried out according to strict rules that regulate the method of organizing the territory in conformity with the specific facts and predominating functions.

10. The Council of Ministers must adopt uniform rules for the organization of the country's territory. It must include the following areas:

--National reservations and the zones in between them [buferni zoni].

--National parks, the lakeland and waterway areas, mountain pastures, beaches and so on.

--The health resorts and their environs, which are suitable for recreation, as well as historical and architectural reservations and their environs.

--Arable land, pastures, meadows, forests, lakes and rivers.

--The territories of villages and small towns and their environs.

--The environment which has been urbanized and industrialized with active human participation.

11. The introduction of the rules for organizing the country's territory must begin as early as within the Seventh Five-Year Plan period with the outlining of methods for applying them efficiently. But at first the existing rules for natural reservations for national parks, for centers of large settlement systems, for agglomerations and health resort complexes must be applied.

The rules may be revised when conditions have changed and the need for so doing has been confirmed.

12. The rules for the organization of the territory and for building up the environment are binding on the ministries, departments and okrug people's councils. This system is to be applied in the following cases:

--The territorial distribution of the productive forces with a view to the normal reproduction and protection of the natural environment.

--Elaboration of the territorial-organizational planning of various territorial units and settlements systems.

--The drawing up of settlements-organizational plans which are varied in type and character.

13. The territorial-organizational plans of the zones that present particular problems must be worked out according to the rules. Such is the case with: the capital and its environ, the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, the Danubian territories, the unpopulated and unarable land in the mountainous, semi-mountainous and border regions, and so forth.

14. In conformity with the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the State Council is entrusted with approving basic instructions on the protection and reproduction of the natural environment, instructions which have to be taken into consideration in working out and adopting the uniform rules.

#### IV. Basic Directions for the Development and Perfection of the Settlements Systems

15. The further perfection of the settlements network of the country demands the application of an approach to the planning of this network, to its development and construction that is new in principle. The main factor in this respect is to be the development of the settlements territories, within whose boundaries many different human activities are going on. Equal conditions and opportunities of work, public services, social life and recreation must be created in these settlements. The development of the settlements systems must become an object of immediate planning.

16. The formation and development of the settlements systems must be based on economic, social, natural-geographical, technical and administrative factors that observe the existing and newly created means of transportation between the individual settlements to the maximum extent. In conformity with these factors we must divide the settlement systems into the following three categories: the existing ones, those that are in the process of development and those that will be developed in the future.

The character and the intensity of the existing means of transportation between settlements and work places, cultural institutions and institutions for everyday services must serve as criteria for determining the boundaries of the settlement systems.

17. Particular attention must be devoted to the planning of agglomerations of settlements, as the most frequently existing settlements systems at the present stage of development. In these large agglomerations of population, production capacities and highly developed means of transportation, a line of intensification must be implemented by eliminating inadequate activities and transferring them to economically less developed areas.

On this basis the mechanical increase of the population in the centers of agglomerations must be restricted and coordinated.

18. The Council of Ministers is entrusted with approving the number, scope and functional standardization of the settlements systems on the proposal of the Ministry of Construction and Architecture in coordination with the okrug party committees and the okrug people's councils.

19. In conformity with the factors acting in various settlements systems, with the main functions of the respective territory and with the demands of the general scheme on the distribution of productive forces, territorial concentration and specialization must be implemented in coordination with concentration and specialization based on industrial branches and technological factors. A general economic basis must be created for the entire settlements and not merely for individual inhabited settlements.

The production infrastructure is to be developed by building uniform energy, power, repair and storage enterprises and by developing the internal system of transportation.

The territorial distribution of the productive forces must take account of the potential opportunities in individual areas, opportunities which are favorable to the distribution of water consuming, material consuming, freight consuming and power consuming enterprises and other such enterprises. Such opportunities must be discovered in advance and incorporated in the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

20. Housing needs must be assessed by drawing a balance between the existing and the required housing units in the total settlements system. New building projects must be taken on only after the opportunities of those existing housing units considered as adequate have been completely exhausted. The building of new housing as well as the modernization, reorganization and maintenance of existing housing units and the intensification of the settlements territories must concentrate on insuring an equitable living standard within the framework of the total settlements systems.

With a view to implementing an efficient and accelerated reorganization of the housing areas in the centers of the settlements systems, a part of the existing, available and adequate housing units in the villages must also be used as a turnover fund [oboroten fond].

On the basis of the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic, a uniform national system for continuous, gradual, housing planning must be created, planning that includes all aspects of the management of housing problems within the limits of the settlements systems, the okrugs and the country as a whole.

21. The national program and norms worked out by the Ministry of Construction and Architecture and by the State Planning Committee and contained in the uniform system of comprehensive public services must serve as an obligatory basis in planning the construction of the material-technical base of public services within the boundaries of the settlements systems.

In conformity with the national program, the building of the system of comprehensive public services must be implemented with such strict discipline and consistency as to reduce the differences in public services within the coming 10-15 years, regardless of where the working or residential areas are.

Capital investments in the construction of the material-technical base of the system of comprehensive public services must be concentrated upon reconstruction and modernization projects. The building of new projects must be considered only after such opportunities have been exhausted. In constructing new buildings and remodeling existing ones we must create combined, multi-purpose complexes and buildings which can be used for the needs of a great part of the sub-systems of public services. The further implementation of the national program and the concrete distribution and building of the projects for public services sub-systems must be implemented on the basis of the settlements systems in conformity with the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan on the country's socioeconomic development.

In the comprehensive construction and development of the system of public services the form of uniform investments should be applied, a form which is likely to insure conditions of production-sharing and coordination of financial resources invested by various ministries, departments and public organizations.

Particular attention must be paid to the development and building of transportation and communications services within the settlements systems as an important element in their functioning. A uniform type of transportation should be organized in the settlements systems, likely to work on the basis of the principles of city transportation. Inter-settlements communications must be rapidly developed, by automating them and applying new devices and technical methods.

22. The daily and weekly recreation time for the population must be organized mainly within the boundaries of the settlements systems. For larger cities this must be implemented on larger territorial scales.

The public form of building, managing and utilizing weekend-house districts and complexes must be widely used and priority must be given to it over individual ownership and utilization of weekend houses.

The separation and utilization of arable land and forests for building weekend houses must be restricted. Settlements with changing functions, where roads, water supply, electrification and other such utilities already exist should be used as efficiently as possible as weekend-house areas.

In certain settlements systems where conditions are similar to those in the weekend-house areas, weekend-house areas should not be created, but the settlements and houses themselves must be made more like the weekend-house areas.

Territorial-organizational reconstruction and modernization should be carried out soon in the weekend-house areas on the outskirts of the settlements which have been built chaotically and without planning, with a view to restoring links with the natural environment and to insuring a greater public access to these areas, and in the purpose of improving their architectural and esthetical development.

23. In conformity with the development of settlements systems and in conformity with creating prerequisites for their comprehensive development, a uniform engineering infrastructure should be planned--such as roads, water supply systems, sewerage, central heating, gas supply and other such utilities.

The engineering infrastructure must be implemented first of all in the inhabited settlements in the form of common junctions [kolektori] and then in the areas outside the settlements in a network of strips and corridors.

24. The opportunities offered by the settlements systems for eliminating existing violations of the environment protection regulations and for preventing new ones should be used.

The landscape within the boundaries of the settlements systems must be consistently protected and improved. Optimal biological and climatic conditions for the environment must be maintained. For this purpose the country's landscape organizational plan must be worked out and applied as an integral part of the uniform territorial-organizational plan.

Within the framework of the settlements systems uniform and modern equipment must be created for the collecting, transportation composting and processing of waste materials.

25. The activities of the territorial organs of administration must be improved in conformity with the requirements of the settlements systems. Forms and methods of coordination for the activities of the municipal people's councils within the boundaries of individual settlements systems must be sought and organized, so that a uniform economic, social and territorial-organizational policy may be implemented.

26. On the basis of initial data given by the country's Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan, territorial and settlement organizational plans must be worked out in the future for entire settlement systems and for their structural units. These plans are to determine the necessity and the consecutive order of compiling larger-scale town development plans for the various populated areas.

A comprehensive program must be worked for supplying the country with territorial-organizational and town development plans during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period and up to 1990, a program which must be approved by the Council of Ministers.

27. The development and functioning of the settlements systems must insure a further improvement in the economic, social and ecological efficiency in the branches, activities and spheres of public services. A thorough development of the environment and satisfaction of human needs with a lesser amount of capital investment and fewer material and labor resources must be insured.

The resources spent on territorial and settlements organization must contribute to the development of social production, to increasing labor productivity and to improving the efficiency of socioeconomic development.

V. On a Uniform Catalogue System for Territorial and Settlements Organization, for Architecture and for Building

28. The Ministry of Construction and Architecture must work out a uniform catalogue system which will be applied as of the beginning of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. This system will serve the purposes of territorial and settlements organization, architecture and building. The system will be worked out taking account of the following factors:

- The functional standardization of projects in the settlements systems in the sectors of labor, housing, recreation, public services and technical infrastructure.

- Uniformization, standardization and specifications of the building systems for buildings, equipment and building products.

29. On the basis of the catalogue system territorial-organizational and architectural-building planning and designing must be perfected by adopting the catalogue-planning methods and making use of computer techniques and other modern technological devices.

30. In applying the uniform catalogue system conditions must be created for:

- A flexible and many-sided planning of buildings, equipment and complexes executed on the basis of industrialized, open [otvoreni] building systems;

- The construction of architecturally varied projects with highly functional and esthetic qualities;

--For the achievement of variety in the architectural and esthetical appearance of inhabited settlements and of the countryside.

#### VI. On the Perfection of the Management of Territorial and Settlements Organization

The elaboration and implementation of a uniform policy in territorial and settlements organization of the country during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period and on a long-term basis demands the creation of a system of management for this complicated and many-sided process. The system must insure the consistent implementation of the uniform territorial-organizational plan and the coordination of all activities which contribute to the country's territorial-organizational development.

31. The State Council must adopt basic principles on the organization of the country's territory and on developing the environment.

32. The Council of Ministers is to adopt the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic and submit it to the National Assembly for approval. The Council of Ministers carries out the functions of a central state organ for the territorial and settlements organization by approving the respective tasks, norms, boundaries and indexes.

33. A Coordination Council must be created for the territorial and settlements organization.

The council coordinates the activities of the national complexes, ministries and departments, as well as of okrug people's councils, that are connected with the organization of the territory, with the construction and development of the settlements systems.

The State Council must approve the statute, composition and functions of the Coordination Council on territorial and settlements organization.

34. The State Planning Committee and the Ministry of Construction and Architecture are to explain the stages and consecutive order of implementing the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the tasks arising from this plan for long-term and short-term plans for the country's socioeconomic development on a branch and territorial basis.

The Ministry of Construction and Architecture and the State Planning Committee, in coordination with the other competent organs, are to work out systems of norms for the territorial and settlements organization on a nationwide and okrug scale.

35. The comprehensive operational activities in connection with drawing up the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic, in connection with the territorial and settlements-organizational plans and their implementation, are to be implemented by the "construction" national complex.

According to the operational functions entrusted to it, the Ministry of Construction and Architecture is to assume the following tasks:

--The ministry is to update and perfect the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan, as well as the territorial-organizational and settlements-organizational plans, and determine the period of their validity in conformity with the updating of the general scheme on territorial distribution of productive forces and the long-term and medium-term plans.

--The ministry is to determine the tasks, based on the plan for the territorial and settlements organization, of planning institutions and organizations, in conformity with the comprehensive program on supplying the country with territorial-organizational and town development plans which are attached to the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

--The ministry is responsible for the creation of a uniform information system for territorial and settlements organization, which must be worked out in coordination with the uniform system of social information and with the national cadastre on the basis of fully uniform and coordinated information. The elaboration of a uniform national cadastre of the Bulgarian People's Republic must be insured.

--The overall control of the implementation of the territorial-organizational plan of the Bulgarian People's Republic and of the territorial and settlements-organizational plans is entrusted to the Ministry of Construction and Architecture.

36. In conformity with the competences granted to them, the national complexes, the ministries and departments which supervise and are responsible for the functioning and development of the system of the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan, are to assume the following tasks:

--They are to work out nationwide concepts and comprehensive programs, as well as long-term plans, five-year and annual plans coordinated with the demands of the country's Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan.

--They are to implement the state policy for the construction of the material-technical base of the activities that are placed under their supervision on the basis of the principles of territorial-organizational concentration, specialization and production-sharing and to implement the coordination of basic and auxiliary production and of the service economic units.

--The above-mentioned organs must establish and insure the observance of specific rules and requirements in outlining the projects of the material-technical base for the activities under their supervision, in conformity with the basic directions on the territorial and settlements-organizational plans.



37. The executive committees of the okrug people's councils are to be the basic coordinators and uniform investors on a territorial basis for the organization of the territory, for building and developing settlements systems and inhabited settlements in the respective okrug. They are to set tasks, draw up and are responsible for the implementation of the territorial-organizational and settlements-organization plans within the boundaries of okrugs in conformity with the principles of the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan and in conformity with the comprehensive program of the Ministry of Construction and Architecture. On the basis of the territorial-organizational and settlements-organization plans, the executive committees of okrug people's councils are to coordinate the activities of all organs connected with the organization of the territory and with the all-round development and protection of the environment, regardless of whether these organs are subjected to the jurisdiction of the okrug people's councils.

38. An efficient system for stimulating, controlling and assessing the implementation of the annual and five-year plan tasks of the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan must be created with a view to achieving the planned organization of the territory and the all-round development of the environment.

39. The Committee of Science, Technical Progress and Higher Education and the Ministry of Construction and Architecture must give attention to and perfect the activities of the scientific and planning services for territorial and settlements organization, architecture and construction, so that the achievements of the world's most advanced countries may be rapidly applied.

For the further improvement and perfection of the territorial and settlements organization on the basis of the Uniform Territorial-Organizational Plan there must be concentration and integration of scientific-research and planning in this field. A uniform center for territorial and settlements organization and architecture must be created, whose task it will be to coordinate scientific research and experimental activities, as well as planning and designing in our country.

40. The necessary cadres for territorial and settlement organization, for standardization and catalogue systems in construction must be trained within a short period.

The Committee of Science, Technical Progress and Higher Education and the Ministry of Construction and Architecture must work out a system of training, preparation and specialization for the cadres working in this sector.

41. The settlements systems are a qualitatively new and higher form of the territorial organization of society. With them, conditions are being created for the combined utilization of the material-technical base for the greater mobilization of labor and material resources, for the implementation

of the tasks of socioeconomic development. They contribute to the expansion of social contacts between the various strata of the population, to a more efficient implementation of the rights to work and have recreation, to the introduction of intellectual values. They are an important instrument of the party in developing a many-sided and well-rounded personality in socialist society. All this produces new demands, demands which involve great responsibility for the party organs and organizations, demands which compel these organs and organizations to carry out organizational and political work to explain to the people the tasks of territorial and settlements-organizational development of the country. These are demands which require explanations about the new approach to the solution of these problems, about the essence, character and opportunities of the settlements systems.

The purposeful activity of the party organs in this connection must be considered an essential part of the party's political work in resolving the comprehensive tasks connected with the country's further socioeconomic development.

The party organs and organizations must actively contribute to the training of cadres who will be entrusted with the implementation of the measures on territorial and settlements organization. The party organs and organizations must contribute as much as they can to the introduction and application of a statesman-like approach to resolving the problems that exist in this sector and to overcoming parochial trends and subjective points of view.

The Fatherland Front, the Bulgarian trade unions, the Komsomol and the other social organizations must intensify their work in resolving the problems of the territorial and settlements organization, in building, reproducing and protecting the environment.

The territorial-organizational problems; the questions of territorial-organizational concentration, specialization, reconstruction and modernization; the development and construction of settlements systems and their use in the accelerated and intensified development of our country during the Seventh Five-Year Plan and up to 1990 are key problems of our party's socioeconomic policy and an essential part of the comprehensive national program on improving the people's living standard.

The BCP Central Committee appeals to the communists, to the United Agrarians and to all working people to implement the great responsible tasks connected with the development and perfection of the territorial and settlements-organization of our country, tasks that present opportunities for creating a comprehensive and harmonious environment--this being an important prerequisite for the further vigorous development of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

WORKING CLASS CHANGES--Sofia, 29 Mar (BTA)--The majority of the working class in Bulgaria, about 80 percent is employed in material production. According to the same sociological researches, in recent years a new trend has been growing--namely, a gradual increase in the number of workers not employed in material production. The number of those who are employed in communal services is also on the rise. In 1944 the kernel of the working class--the industrial workers--accounted for 38 percent of all Bulgarian workers. Now 60 percent of all workers are employed in industry. Of them, the most rapid to flourish is the strata linked with the promising and leading branches of the scientific and technological progress. If the working class is increased 4.5 times in general over the 1948-1970 period, the number of metallurgical workers in the ferrous metallurgy grew 72 times, of chemical workers, 15 times and of engineering workers over ninefold. Parallel with this the number of workers engaged in manual labour was dropped. From 16 percent in 1955 they amount now to a mere 2-3 percent of all Bulgarian workers. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0815 GMT 3 Mar 77 AU]

MIGRATION PROCESSES--Sofia, 24 Mar (BTA)--There is a tendency to a small increase of the smallest villages, up to 200 people, in Bulgaria. At the same time another trend towards an apparent decrease of the number of bigger villages has been observed. Many of the latter transform into towns. The so-called satellite towns--big villages in the vicinity of cities--are cropping up. An opposite trend can be traced in the development of towns, however. Since 1946 their number has increased by 69, while the number of city dwellers has almost doubled. The population of the small towns is on the decrease while a notable inflow to the big cities has been marked. While in 1946 towns with residents up to 5,000 were holding 5.6 percent of the urban population, 2 decades later this index dropped to mere 3.4 percent. In 1946 there were only 16 cities with population above 25,000 each, which housed 59 percent of the city dwellers. In the next 20 years their number went up to 32 and they covered nearly 70 percent of the town residents. Sofia is a city with a million-strong populace now, which holds about 2 percent of the urban population. Burgas, Varna, Ruse Pernik, Pleven and Stara Zagora have also notably increased. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0800 GMT 24 Mar 77 AU]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SSR COMMISSION FOR GYPSY AFFAIRS SECRETARY CLAIMS PROGRESS

Bratislava NEDELNA PRAVDA in Slovak No 10, 11 Mar 77 p 16

[Article by Engineer Imrich Farkas, secretary of the SSR government Commission for Gypsy Problems: "The Assistance Continues More Effectively--Cultural Integration of Gypsy Citizens Progressing More Rapidly"]

[Text] There are some people who disapprove of the behavior and the whole way of life of our gypsy fellow citizens. They skeptically begrudge all the aid which our society renders to that segment of our population, because they doubt that it could bring any positive results; they maintain that all the moral and material assistance granted to the gypsies is fruitless. Others have understood the historic reality and the causes of the cultural and social lag of our gypsy citizens, recognized the need of upgrading them culturally and offered them a helping hand.

Thanks to the commitment of our national committees, particularly the okres national committees in Slovakia we have achieved positive results in the solution of this socially relevant problem in the past 10 years and especially during the 1972-1976 period. In particular we have succeeded with the pre-school and school education of gypsy children, in assigning jobs to able-bodied gypsy citizens, and in liquidating gypsy settlements, i.e., in improved housing for gypsy families.

Until December 1971, only 10.1 percent of the total number of the 3-5 year old gypsy children attended kindergartens. Before the end of June 1976, that number could be increased to 34.1 percent. To a large extent that was a result of the construction of 44 kindergartens with 67 classrooms for 2010 gypsy children; the national committees built them with grants from the SSR Ministry of Finance.

The school attendance of the school-age gypsy children has improved quite markedly and with it, also their grades. The absence during school instruction decreased from 161.6 hours per each gypsy pupil in the school year of 1971-1972 to 101.5 hours in the school year of 1975-1976. Furthermore--while in the 1971-1972 school year 46 percent of 15-year old gypsies completed their obligatory school attendance in grades 1-5 and only 14.7 percent of them were able to complete their basic education in 9th grade,

in the 1975-1976 school year only 21 percent completed the school attendance in grade 1-5 and as many as 20.8 percent of the 15-year old gypsy children finished the 9th grade.

#### Training at Work

The national committees are devoting particular attention to assigning work to able-bodied gypsy citizens. In that sector, too, they have achieved relatively good results. In December 1971 49,400, i.e., 63.6 percent of the total number of gypsy citizens of productive ages were working. In June 1967 57,400 were working in permanent and 8,000 in temporary positions, thus, a total of 65,400, i.e., 69.9 percent.

During that period the placement of 15-year old gypsy teenagers in vocational training and employment has improved. Consequently, fewer boys and girls are staying with their parents. While in 1971 25.4 percent of the 2,948 15-year old gypsy children were placed in vocational training and 28.6 percent in jobs, 39.2 percent stayed home (others continued their education in the basic school and in secondary schools), last year the situation improved so that of the 4,384 15-year old gypsy boys and girls (an increase of 48.7 percent as compared with 1971) 41.2 percent began their vocational training and 30.2 percent went to work, 2.4 percent were accepted by preferential schools, 2.8 percent are continuing their education in the basic school, and only 23.6 percent stay at home, i.e., are unemployed.

Along with the pre-school and school education of the gypsy and higher rate of employment of adult gypsies, we have progressed also in the liquidation of gypsy settlements and huts, in other words, in improving their housing standard. In 1972-1975 and in the first half of 1976, 2,341 huts have been razed and 2,810 families have moved into standard apartments and family houses amid other residents. The number of gypsy huts has declined from 7,329 in late December 1971 to 4,988 at the end of June 1976.

I have intentionally described in detail our society's accomplishments during the 1972-1976 period in cultural upgrading and gradual social integration of our backward gypsy citizens, in order to make it sufficiently clear that the cultural adaptation of the gypsies has already achieved quite evident positive results. When solving this serious problem, however, we must proceed realistically and with patience.

#### Bilateral Concerns

It was not easy to achieve such positive results, neither was it done by administrative procedures only. On the contrary, it required considerable work on the part of the deputies of the national committees employees. Until very recently the general view was that it was impossible to work with the gypsy citizens because they lacked willingness, did not strive enough to improve their cultural level and instead they just waited for the dole from the state. However, a contest for a model gypsy settlement which took place in the okreses of Rimavska Sobota and Kosice-suburbs in 1975-1976 demonstrated that when national

committees workers and gypsies become involved in an undertaking, it is possible to achieve success.

In the obec of Barca in the Rimavska Sobota okres where 159 gypsies reside, the adult gypsy citizens were invited to a meeting. The secretary of the local national committee explained that if they would volunteer to work for the completion of the buildings of the local national committee and of the cultural center, the old national committee building would be made available to serve as kindergarten for 30 gypsy children. They understood.

Evenings after work and on weekends they worked to finish the construction of both of those buildings. Because of their labor both projects were completed ahead of the original schedule. Next, the gypsy citizens helped remodel the old building for the kindergarten. They contributed a total of 3,265 hours of voluntary work. In September 1976 they opened a two-room kindergarten which is now attended by 27 gypsy children.

The gypsy settlement in Rimavska Pila has been among the most primitive ones in the Rimavska Sobota okres. Until June 1976, water had to be carried to the settlement from a distance of up to 200 meters. In connection with a contest for a model gypsy settlement the local national committee explained to the gypsies that by joining their forces they could build a water main for the settlement. All necessary material was given them. The local national committee workers organized the work and the residents of the gypsy settlement built the water main for their settlement and contributed 750 hours of unpaid brigade work.

The above examples serve as proof that work with the gypsy citizens is indeed possible and that they do get involved in improving their living standard. They need proper and consistent guidance. That is the task of the national committees, particularly the local ones; unfortunately, some of them have so far remained aloof as far as the solution of the gypsy problem is concerned.

The lack of good will to solve the gypsy problem is evident, for instance, from the fact that local national committees in some obeces do not want to approve a purchase of an older family house by gypsy citizens or to authorize the construction of kindergartens for gypsy children. Some are trying to segregate the gypsy children in kindergartens as well as in the basic school by organizing separate classes for them or by not opposing those parents who demand that the teachers keep the gypsy children apart in the class.

The positive data from the contest for a model gypsy settlement serve as a basis for the Slovakia-wide contest which is under way since January of this year in the okres of the Slovak Socialist Republic. When workers of national committees are able to get the gypsies involved as in Barca, Radnovice, Rimavska Pila, Jasov, Kecerovce and some other obeces, the cultural adaptation of primitively living gypsy citizens will progress much faster.

9004

CSO: 2400

SOCIALIST LAW'S CLASS BASIS STRESSED IN SENTENCING

Potsdam-Babelsberg STAAT UND RECHT in German Vol 26 No 2, Feb 77 signed to press 30 Dec 76 p 126-135

[Article by Prof Dr Erich Buchholz, jurisprudence section, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "Socialist Justice as Sentencing Principle." Passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics.]

[Text] The party program adopted by the Ninth SED Congress demands that, in implementation of strict observance of socialist legality, "violations of the law be punished appropriately."<sup>1</sup> This, on the basis of the always pursued and tested fundamental principle of differentiation, continues to represent an orientation toward increasingly complete realization of the principles of socialist justice also in meting out sentences. This accords with the legal requirement of Article 1, Paragraph 61, of the Penal Code, which concretizes the provision of Article 86 of the GDR Constitution (socialist society guarantees "the realization of the constitution in the spirit of justice"). And the Code of Criminal Procedure logically calls it a fundamental task of criminal procedure to serve "the just application of socialist penal law."

Under socialist conditions, justice is an infeasible, essential attribute of court sentencing. It serves the realization of the aims of penal law accountability formulated in Article 2 of the Penal Code. At the same time, it is a decisive prerequisite and condition for great social effectiveness of our penal law in the practice of actual criminal procedure. Court sentencing is /class evaluation/ (or judgment) of the degree to which the concrete crime of an individual culprit is antisocial or endangers society, and this evaluation is expressed by the court by fixing a /type and degree/ of sentence (including supplementary measures) within the framework of the law--that is, a certain amount of public restraint.

This evaluation rests on understanding the culprit's crime in its social context, without being exhausted in this process of understanding. As a class evaluation of this recognized concrete objective reality, it makes prevail the individual moralist-juristic value judgment of the ruling working class concerning the event--in terms, in the "penal law language," of certain penalties (sentences) concretized or individualized by type and degree.

For us Marxist-Leninists, justice is not an abstract, eternal idea, but we recognize it as conditioned and caused in concrete historical, socioeconomic ways. Marx and Lenin connect the term of justice closely with /equality/-- and do so also in viewing socialism. In his "Kritik des Gothaer Programms" [Critique of the Gotha Program], Marx criticizes the phrase of "just distribution" and in the succeeding discussion speaks exclusively of equality. In his analysis of Marx' "Kritik des Gothaer Programms" and in his "State and Revolution," Lenin follows this directly and combines "justice and equality."<sup>3</sup> Similarly justice and equality are combined in the thinking of the principles of our socialist penal code (particularly Article 5 of the Penal Code).

Equality is an essential condition of justice. One may follow Gollnick and Haney when they say that "the specific character of the evaluation of justice consists in... evaluating...always from the point of view of equality."<sup>4</sup> Justice is an attribute of the evaluation (or judgment or assessment) of an /accomplishment/ (or action or attitude or activity) by an individual (or collective or institution or society). The process of this evaluation takes place in the form of a (meted out)--moral or material--acknowledgement, or "payment" or "reward." It receives and deserves the attribute of "just" if this evaluation--in accordance with historical social laws and the state of development--has been made in accordance with equal and uniform--i.e., generally valid--standards and takes into account the concrete possibilities of the accomplishment (or action, attitude). Justice, therefore, is an objective social value of moral rank. The law can be a means of realizing justice, just as, in its turn, it is measured by the standard of justice, which is "the most abstract expression of law itself,"<sup>5</sup> and in this sense--as applied to socioeconomic relationships and necessities--itself is to be judged as just or unjust. Therefore--in the most general sense of a criterion of social content--whatever corresponds to and serves regular historical progress is just, and whatever confronts or opposes it is unjust. The question concerning justice therefore is a social question of the first order. It is above all a question concerning social justice. In accordance with the scientific realization of Marxism-Leninism, social justice--as does social equality--means "/abolition of the classes/... To eliminate the classes means placing /all/ citizens into an /equal/ relationship with the /means of production/ of all of society; it means that all citizens have... the /same/ opportunities for work with social means of production."<sup>6</sup>

Against the background of social justice understood as a socioeconomic class matter, the question can then be examined, and be solved scientifically, concerning "juristic justice," concerning justice of the law or in the law. The fundamental and essential justice of socialist law derives not primarily from a clever and juristically exact formulation of the laws of the socialist state and the individual legal acts based on them but primarily from the nature of the social relationships of socialism, which are free from exploitation and fundamental social injustice. On the other hand, even socialist justice, however well elaborated, cannot remove, suspend or eliminate social justice consisting "in the distribution of consumer goods 'according to work' (and not according to need)."<sup>7</sup>



In socialism, the justice of the law and in the law--"juristic justice" (and equality)--is realized in the highest possible way and completeness at this level of, and on the basis of, high social justice. There can be no higher "juristic justice," no higher justice of the law and in the law, than in socialism, because the social advance to communism, which will bring about the highest and full social justice for everyone (distribution according to need), will necessarily be connected with the suspension of law as a "regulator (organizer) in the distribution of products and labor"<sup>8</sup> altogether.

Thus, as the historically highest type of law in the history of mankind, /socialist law/ is caused concretely-historically by socioeconomic reality and by its very nature is the /most just law mankind is capable of producing/. This quality of socialist law applies to socialist law in its totality, to all its branches, including penal law. At the same time, it is an obligatory task for every jurist to make this objective nature and this objective quality of socialist law prevail in legislation (codification) as well as in every individual concrete application of the law. This requires high political and juristic qualifications, a deep understanding of the nature of socialism and its law. Justice of socialist law in accordance with its essential nature does not prevail automatically, and nothing could be more dangerous than to rely on it's doing so. One has to see to it that the law, by becoming isolated or autarkic, does not manifest itself in such a way as to lead to unjust results--which can also appear as "phenomena of bureaucratic and heartless behavior" (fought resolutely by the SED)<sup>9</sup>--just as, conversely, the underestimation of law (legal nihilism), particularly of equal standards, is capable of producing injustice in individual cases.

The above deliberations, as applied to penal law, mean the following:

The application of penal law (Paragraph 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure) is just in the individual case if

--anyone who, despite the possibilities of social behavior afforded to him, commits a crime must account to society for it (Articles 2 and 5 of the Penal Code);

--therefore, any guilty person (whoever it may be), but no one who is not guilty, is made accountable under penal law (Paragraph 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure), with his guilt having to be established legally (criminal procedure) beyond a doubt and by force of law (Article 4 and Paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 6 of the Code of Criminal Procedure);

--uniform standards equal for all are applied in case a guilty offender is sentenced or in case it is decided not to institute measures of penal-law accountability (cf particularly Articles 5, Paragraphs 61, 25 of the Penal Code).

The object of the recognition and evaluation of a penal law decision which is to meet the high standard of being just invariably is a concrete individual human action. Just application of penal law, a just meting out of a sentence

and a just sentence are not possible without realizing and grasping the social content of the action concerned. But--and here the difficulty begins--human action is never only an external motion of the bodily organs of man, not a purely external fact, but, as an "activity with a purpose," in which the result of the activity "preexisted conceptually" in the acting person's head,<sup>10</sup> a socially significant expression of a human personality. "With the action and through it, the personality to a certain degree has manifested (objectivized) itself."<sup>11</sup>

The same activity, or one proceeding along similar lines, can be completely different, depending on the different content, the different direction of the subjective aspect of the action, or depending on the culprit's personality. For "the phenomenon of the action as immediately perceived by the senses can be very /equivocal/ under certain circumstances. In their social value or lack of value, in their legal significance, actions cannot be recognized and judged /unequivocally/ until we know the subjective ideas, the subjectively pursued aims and purposes of the acting person."<sup>12</sup> Constant observance of the /unity of the objective and subjective aspect/ of a crime and also of the /unity of deed and culprit/ is a fundamental requirement of socialist penal law and its just application.

Without recognizing the social effects of the crime (its objective social damage) /and/ the culprit's personality expressed in it in its essential features, in its social nature, and without establishing them truthfully in accordance with objective reality, a proper judgment of the crime and, consequently, just application of the penal law and a just meting out of the sentence are unattainable.<sup>13</sup>

This, of course, requires establishing and appreciating the culprit's personality in relation to the deed--that is, its relevance for the irresponsible decision to commit the deed (Paragraph 5, Section 2, of the Penal Code)--and from all aspects (as in fact provided by Paragraph 61, Section 2, last sentence, of the Penal Code and Paragraph 2, Section 1, and Paragraph 8, Section 1, of the Code of Criminal Procedure). For--as Marx pointed out in his discussions about the wood theft law--"the personality exists... /always wholly/ to every extent."<sup>14</sup> It is--to use Rubinstein's words--"the total of inner conditions, combined in a whole, through which all external effects are (broken)."<sup>15</sup> It would be equally unjust and arbitrary to see, or disregard, only a culprit's good work performance or only his fondness for alcohol. Truth and justice command that /all/ of a culprit's /important social/ aspects and relevances be recognized, seen and considered. The all-sidedness of the approach, however--as a general methodological principle of a scientific process of apprehension--must not be confused with completeness, depth, totality or exhaustive tracking down of all aspects and details. Nor must it be overlooked that in the individual case, depending on the culprit's personality and the nature of the deed, the "all-sidedness of the personality analysis" will differ and will also be variously complicated and difficult.

These concrete aspects also solve the--seeming--contradiction which may be discerned, for example, between the requirement of an all-sided determination

of the personality and such principles and points of view (always to be observed as a form of state activity in criminal procedure) as concentration and acceleration, rational development of procedures and the like. For the latter, just as all-sidedness, serve the preponderant requirement of just application of penal law (Paragraph 1 of the Code of Criminal Procedure).

While observing the /unity of relevance to the deed and all-sidedness/ in investigating the relationship between deed and culprit, it is possible to determine and state to what extent and in what ways the culprit's personality was expressed in the deed, to what extent it was "the culprit's deed and whether the deed matched or was alien from the personality."<sup>16</sup>

The immense practical significance of this approach becomes particularly striking wherever personality and crime "fall apart," contradict, or seem to contradict, one another--for example, in the case of many offenses of negligence, of quite a few first offenders (notably "one-time derailments"), but also in the case of persistent recidivists committing only minor thefts, etc.<sup>17</sup>

Recognition of the social nature of the crime in its inseparable combination with the personality of the culprit is, however, not enough for arriving at a just penalty. This recognition is only a (necessary) prerequisite of a correct and just evaluation, a correct and just sentencing. In this evaluation it is first and in every case a question of the established degree (or proportionality)--based on uniform points of view--of the antisocial or society-endangering nature of the crime of the culprit concerned and of the penal law sanction (type and extent of penalty) expressing the assessment of it. This relationship was expressed as follows by Marx: "...the reality of the crime (demands) a degree of punishment. The real crime is circumscribed (by the extent to which it is antisocial or endangers society--author). The punishment will have to be circumscribed if only because, in order to be just, it must be circumscribed in accordance with a legal principle."<sup>18</sup>

In socialism, it is however, by no means only a question of proportionality--important (though this is because of the legal nature of the event--let alone a question of proportionality for its own sake. Since socialist society, led by the working class, is capable of realizing historical necessity in an ever more conscious and free manner, the antisocial and society-endangering nature of a crime becomes qualitatively increasingly apparent in its negation precisely of this necessity--a negation which not only affects society as a whole in its increasingly free development but touches on the freedom of the individual criminal. The solution or elimination of this contradiction of crime (or culprit) and society--with the employment of penal law means--can and must be the result, and have the purpose, of leading to the culprit's asserting his social responsibility, his human freedom, free self-determination, and thus to his self-realization as a human being.<sup>19</sup> Article 2 of the Penal Code expresses this thought, and thus an essential functional quality of punishment in socialism, by stating: "...to effectively educate the violator of the law to observe socialist state discipline and to adopt a responsible attitude in social and personal life."

In socialism, punishment, founded in new social relationships, presupposes the ability also on the part of the person who has become subject to punishment to be responsible and to act freely--in other words, to determine his own fate; it ties in with this and is directed toward promoting this self-determination--notably toward stimulating or triggering society-conscious collective activities as well as concrete restitutions and probation, as a result of which the culprit can again obtain his place in society.

The concrete forms, the type and extent of the sentence, must accord with this social-collective and social-individual process and support it. In the state of social development which has been attained--notwithstanding the fact that the sentence necessarily contains constraint vis-a-vis the culprit--increasingly such measures of penal law accountability and realization are suitable in the case of such offenses as give scope to both collective and individual society activity--particularly sentences not entailing imprisonment and consultation and decisions by social courts. It is toward this that the SED program is also oriented.<sup>20</sup>

Connected with this, however, are some problems, becoming increasingly apparent in all socialist countries, which no longer permit the meting out of sentences to be understood, at least exclusively, as a decision about punishment determined concretely according to type and extent. For (similar to the penal law systems of other socialist countries) the system of measures of penal law accountability in the GDR preponderantly contains measures which are not and cannot be meted out in simple proportion to the degree of the anti-social or society-endangering nature of the crime but whose application (also) depends on various other points of view (e.g., the culprit's ability to work, the readiness of the collective to vouch for him, the readiness of the culprit to be educated and so forth and so on). Under these circumstances, the implementation of justice, the application of equal, uniform standards becomes more complicated, and particularly facts or aspects of the culprit's personality and his position in the collective /other/ than those mentioned so far (influence on the decision to commit the deed and extent to which the personality was manifested in the deed) are to be taken into consideration.

Paragraph 61, Section 2, of the Penal Code concerns such aspects of the personality of the culprit with the formulation--still quite general and barely investigated scientifically--of the "ability and readiness of the culprit... in the future to meet his responsibility toward socialist society," and Paragraph 30, Section 2, of the Penal Code, already indirectly contains the idea of the ability and readiness of the /collective/ to educate being taken into consideration.

There are at least two things worth noting here: first, in Paragraph 61, Section 2, of the Penal Code, individual /prognosis/ is explicitly posited as a prerequisite of the decision, and such a prognosis would be utterly impossible without the personality being assessed from all aspects; secondly, we no longer have to do here (only) with a question of purely proportional evaluation. Justice was characterized above as an attribute of the evaluation of an accomplishment (or action or attitude)--in other words, as an

objective behavior lying in the past, and therefore a behavior amenable to juristic-moral evaluation.

If (as is also explicitly stated in the law) we insist on justice both of the sentencing and of the application of measures of penal law accountability also in light of the requirement to take into account the ability and readiness to behave socially in the future--and, since application of the law is concerned, indefeasibly must insist on this--this can only mean that the chosen measures to be applied must be covered by the criteria of justice, must lie within the framework of justice, and not that they are /exclusively/ supported by or based on considerations of justice, that their application might derive entirely from the argument of justice.<sup>21</sup> To lie within the framework of justice, to be covered by justice, however, means that the seriousness of the sentence, the type and extent of the sentence, including the public constraint it embodies, is justified by the degree of the antisocial or society-endangering nature of the crime or of the personal penal law accountability, that this limit is not exceeded.

Under this point of view, the requirement of proportionality of the seriousness of the crime and the extent of the penalty, of the limitedness of the sentence in accordance with the limit of the crime as a legal principle (Marx), fulfills a juristical guarantee function of practical importance which protects both society and the individual (culprit). But this must not be perceived as exhaustive of justice. The new quality, the higher sense of punishment in socialism,<sup>22</sup> which intends to make the culprit develop his own ability of self-determination through his active probation and restitution in the collective and with collective assistance, accordingly also finds expression precisely in the fact that the culprit--his (penal law) juristical subjectivity notwithstanding--is no longer merely the object of the sentence, the object of the application of public constraint, but increasingly becomes the subject in the process of the implementation of punishment, probation and restitution.<sup>23</sup>

Therefore--and here, at the same time, the overcoming of antiquated bourgeois concepts of proportionality becomes particularly apparent--the concrete extent and the concrete form of the measure of penal law accountability to be applied must be such as to promote as much as possible the process of the culprit's individual self-realization as a personality. The penal law in force provides manifold possibilities of this--which are sometimes still insufficiently utilized and exhausted.

In such individualized selection and development of suitable measures--against the background of observance of the degree of the antisocial or society-endangering nature of the crime--the following must be taken into consideration:

--the state of development of the culprit's personality (as an indicator of the degree of the ability of free self-determination) at the time of the sentencing (not at the time of the crime!), with special attention being paid to the positive and negative personal prerequisites (and also limits) of the

culprit which are to form the basis of the measures to be taken in each case, or, insofar as possible, are to be counteracted by these measures;

--the state of development of his collective or collectives, particularly their ability and readiness to educate, as well as the culprit's attitude toward them.

To promote the process of the self-realization of the culprit as a member of our society, and his probation and restitution, is, however, also a task of state and industrial management and social organizations, with a view to influencing the violator of the law and educating him to behave honestly and responsibly. To exercise such influence at the same time serves the purpose of realizing the aims of penal law accountability (Article 2, Section 2, of the Penal Code).

The tackling and implementing of such a task of educating the violator of the law to maintain "socialist state discipline and a responsible attitude in social and personal life" (Article 2, Section 1, of the Penal Code) is just primarily in that socialist society gives the culprit the opportunity, and helps him, to gain a respectable place in this society and to participate in its progressive development, in the building of socialism, as a member enjoying equal rights and equal respect. This includes (since responsibility and sense of responsibility comprise mutual relations) /requiring/ the culprit to engage in probation and restitution. To be just, the extent of this requirement of probation and restitution must correspond to the seriousness of the crime, with the forms of these requirements (whether the culprit is to provide indemnity, whether he is to avoid certain kinds of association, whether he is to perform certain work during leisure time, and so forth), depending on very concrete circumstances which cannot solely be determined in accordance with principles of justice. On the other hand, since equality (before the law) is an aspect of justice, the relevant actual circumstances which cause one imposition or another must be taken into consideration uniformly in accordance with the same standards toward everyone with whom such prerequisites exist.

Under all these points of view, the task of the scientific discipline of sentencing expands in that it must work out uniform prerequisites of application of individual measures by precisely defining and interpreting penal law, doing so in connection with the investigation of concrete types of punishment and other measures, over and above aspects of proportionality. In this, delimiting criteria for applying penalties with or without imprisonment must enjoy special priority.<sup>24</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. SED Program, Berlin, 1976, p 43.
2. For the term and principles of sentencing in individual cases, cf "Strafrecht - Allgemeiner Teil" /Penal Law--General/. Lehrbuch /Penal Law Text/, Berlin, 1976, p 437 ff.

3. Cf V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 25, Berlin, 1960, p 480.
4. R. Gollnick/G. Haney, "Sozialistisches Recht und Gerechtigkeit" [Socialist Law and Justice], STAAT UND RECHT, 1968, p 584.
5. F. Engels, in K. Marx/F. Engels, "Works," Vol 18, Berlin, 1962, p 277.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 20, Berlin, 1961, p 138 f.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 25, loc cit.
8. Ibid, p 481.
9. Cf SED Program, loc cit, p 42.
10. Cf K. Marx, in K. Marx/F. Engels, "Works," Vol 23, Berlin, 1962, p 193.
11. E. Buchholtz, R. Hartmann, J. Lekschas, G. Stiller, "Sozialistische Kriminologie" [Socialist Criminology], Berlin, 1971, p 279.
12. Ibid, p 285.
13. This is also the basic position of the monograph "The Culprit's Personality," published in Moscow under the editorship of V. N. Kudriyavtsev, G. M. Minkovskiy and A. B. Zakharov in 1975. (cf review in STAAT UND RECHT, 1976, p 1,215 ff.)
14. K. Marx, in K. Marx/F. Engels, "Works," Vol 1, Berlin, 1958, p 114. (The italics are mine--author.)
15. S. L. Rubinstein, "Sein und Bewusstsein" [Being and Consciousness], Berlin, 1962, p 280.
16. Cf "The Culprit's Personality," loc cit, p 209.
17. Greater differentiation while paying attention to the culprit's personality has been drawn attention to anew by Streit in evaluating the Ninth SED Congress. (Cf J. Streit, "Auf dem bewaehrten Kurs voran!" [Advance on the Tested Course], NEUE JUSTIZ, 1976, p 345 ff, especially p 347 ff.) Cf also H. Toeplitz, "Erste Schlussfolgerungen fuer die Rechtsprechung aus dem IX. Parteitag der SED" [First Conclusions for the Administration of Justice To Be Drawn From the Ninth SED Congress], NEUE JUSTIZ, 1976, p 409 ff, especially p 412.
18. K. Marx, loc cit.
19. Cf also J. Lekschas, "Verantwortung und Recht in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [Responsibility and Right in Socialist Society], Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR [Minutes of Sessions of the GDR Academy of Science], 1975, No 12 G, p 12 ff, p 16 f.

20. Cf SED Program, loc cit, p 43.
21. In Soviet literature, as also in the mentioned monograph "The Culprit's Personality" (cf loc cit, p 236), the demand is made throughout to arrive at punishment in sentencing which not only corresponds to the seriousness of the crime but serves the culprit's mending his ways and being reeducated.
22. Important aspects of the new quality of socialist penal law and of punishment in socialism are elaborated in the contribution by U. Daehn and J. Renneberg, "Sozialistische Strafpolitik und Aufgaben der Forschung" [Socialist Penal Policy and Tasks of Research], STAAT UND RECHT, 1976, p 398 ff.
23. For details, cf Lehrbuch Strafrecht [Penal Law Text], loc cit, p 204 ff, especially p 210 ff.
24. A similar orientation is indicated by U. Daehn and J. Renneberg (cf loc cit, p 401 ff, p 405 ff) and the editorial interview with H. Harrland, J. Renneberg and E. Buchholz (cf NEUE JUSTIZ, 1976, p 579 ff, p 583 f).

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## EAST GERMANY

### SOCIALIST HUMANISM STRESSED IN CRIME PREVENTION, REHABILITATION

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[Article by Prof Dr Ulrich Daehn, vice president (prorektor) for research; Prof Dr Joachim Renneberg (deceased) and Prof Dr Hans Weber, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence: "Crime Fighting and Citizens' Rights in Socialism." A translation of Harald Schliwa's article, "Socialist Democracy and Freedom of the Individual," referred to below in footnote 15, is available in JPRS 68228, 17 Nov 76, No 1320 of this series, pp 19-33]

#### I

[Text] The guarantee and responsible exercise of the citizens' fundamental rights, of their human rights vested in them constitutionally by the socialist state, have always been and always are for the ruling working class and its Marxist-Leninist party an indefeasible factor of the revolutionary reformation of society on the way to the erection of socialism and communism as a historically new social order more in keeping with human life. This follows with objective consequence from the essence of the historical mission of the working class of overthrowing, in alliance with all workers, the antiquated exploiters' society with its intransigent antagonisms and dehumanizing Wolf's laws of the struggle of "everyone against everyone" and of replacing it with a social order in which man, in control of his own social order, in mutual association, omnilaterally releases his creative forces as social forces. In this sense, Marx and Engels characterized the historical mission of the working class as creating a new society "in which the free development of each and everyone is the prerequisite for the free development of all"<sup>1</sup> and which opens the path to historical necessity in such a way as to *"/overthrow all relationships/* [words in slantlines in italics] *in which man is a humiliated, enslaved, deserted, contemptible being."*<sup>2</sup>

This revolutionary and humanist character of the historical mission of the working class also pervades and pronounces all fundamental rights of the working people and citizens and communities in socialist society which are anchored as concrete framework rights in the constitution of the GDR, notably in Sections I and II, and are expanded further by a number of legal

works.<sup>3</sup> Resting on the socialist power and production relationships and on the social and economic policy of party and state directed toward man's well-being, these rights, in the totality of their political and economic, social and cultural components, above all have one content and objective--to insure and promote the free development of the human personality as the creative shaping force of socialist society, the all-sided development of his creative forces and capabilities and a life in peace and in social and legal security.<sup>4</sup>

The society forming force of the working class and the humanist nature of real socialism--and thus also the reality and life force of the human rights guaranteed and realized by it--take shape in the most manifold political and economic, social and intellectual cultural achievements and accomplishments of the workers, which form the secure foundation for the strategic aims decided by the Ninth SED Congress "of continuing to shape a developed socialist society" in the GDR "and thus creating fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism."<sup>5</sup> It is also a component and, at the same time, a result of these achievements and accomplishments that in the GDR as in the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries socialism has proved and is proving to be the first and only social order in history capable of attaining pervasive and lasting successes in fighting and preventing criminality. As is known, in our country, under the rule of the working class--and in the course of the comparatively brief period of barely 30 years at that it has been possible to reduce the burden of criminality on the population to a fraction of what had been passed to our society as the sad heritage of imperialist "self-determination" or of what still exists even at present under the conditions of a capitalist monopoly society in the FRG. No wonder bourgeois ideologists cannot grasp these achievements of real socialism but, on the contrary, are trying to disparage them.

The standard arguments from the ideological arsenal of anticommunism include the assertion that the low level of criminality in the socialist countries is nothing positive at all but is based on man's lack of freedom, while, by contrast, the free right in a pluralistic society to behave unsocially in a positive and negative sense is bound to result in the actual committing of criminal actions.<sup>6</sup>

Here anticommunism is combined with vindication of the imperialist system. Accordingly, the behavior of man is based on the "antagonism of the individual against all others," on "social warfare." Such thinking reflects the contradictions of the imperialist system, the fight of all against all which prevails in it. It is to this that the content of the terms of freedom and pluralism is reduced. And if the FRG criminologist Kaiser expresses the opinion that the high rate of crime in the FRG is an indicator of prosperity or the price of freedom,<sup>7</sup> he is in fact justifying the explosion of criminality through the contradictions of the imperialist system. According to this logic, man is criminal by nature and is free if he can give vent to his criminal inclinations! For the growing number of people affected by criminality, this kind of freedom has only negative effects.

For the many people, however, who sink into the swamp of criminality under the influence or pressure of the imperialist system, it is of no value at all.

Under the aspect of the subject we have posed ourselves, the achievements and perspectives of our socialist society in the fight against criminality and for its gradual, phased elimination from the life of man, above all permit the following statements:

1. The achievements and perspectives undeniably reflect the qualitatively high level of concrete legal security and particularly the concrete protection of society and its members, its fundamental life interests and rights vis-a-vis crimes and offenses--a legal security which can only be realized and insured by the working class in power and its allies through the creating and formation of socialist social relationships, through the successful mastery of the main task traced by the party, through strict realization of socialist legality as the common concern of society, state and citizen. This concrete legal security is an essential factor of the social security prevailing in a socialist society, which is a basic prerequisite for it. The increasingly complete and noticeable realization of the meaning of socialism to do everything for the benefit of man--expressed particularly in the main task--guarantees the further increase of social security, which as a fundamental prerequisite of legal security at the same time also forms the basis of man's personal freedom.<sup>8</sup>

In this connection, the fact must also be taken into account that the proportion of serious crime is extremely small in the GDR. This, too, makes it clear to what great extent socialist society even today can guarantee its members as a social reality such fundamental human rights as the right to life and inviolability of the person and freedom from the fear of crime. In stark contrast with this, in the social order of the FRG and other imperialist countries, praised as libertarian-constitutional by its apologists, a wave of criminal violence and brutality increasingly makes man's daily routine insecure.

How is it really possible in light of this--as happened recently in the case of an FRG author--to be "surprised" that in our socialist state and its legal system the term "legal security," as a high legal ethical asset of the working class, is a fundamental standard of action and, in manifold initiatives and activities of workers, is becoming more and more a consciously practiced reality of the life of society?<sup>9</sup> Such surprise really only reveals the author's own imprisonment in anticommunist false doctrines about real socialism and its law, and the consequent inability to grasp the fact that in socialism legal security is not a daily hackneyed cliché--as it is in the author's country--behind whose fog social and legal insecurity (unemployment and prohibitions of professions, to mention a few), violence, brutality and demoralization are rampant. Nor is it here an extravagant "legal asset," which can only be attained at a high price with the help of an attorney. Rather, it is here a necessary legal social prerequisite of the free development of a citizen's personality, which to guarantee and to

make prevail in life with ever increasing social effectiveness is the common concern of the workers and their state power. The mass movement of the workers for high legality and exemplary order and security is an eloquent testimony of this!

Thus also from the point of view of fighting and preventing criminality, the deep truth is proved of the statement by Erich Honecker at the Second Session of the SED Central Committee: "In the history of our people there has never been a time when it could breathe as freely as it can in the German Democratic Republic."<sup>10</sup>

2. The achievements as well as the further perspectives of the fight of socialist society against criminality, and for gradually pushing it back, themselves find their objective basis in real social relationships and processes which in their very essence are of necessity connected with the responsibility and activity of the workers for consciously asserting their fundamental human and civil rights.

This is particularly clearly apparent in the political power of the working class, a power exercised by it in firm alliance with the class of cooperative farmers and the other working people in the interest of the entire people of the GDR, as well as in the further improving socialist democracy, through which the fundamental right of the working people for self determination as well as the basic right of every citizen for collaboration and codetermination attains the reality of social change and social development. Led by the Marxist-Leninist party, the worker and peasant power, through the socialist state and the law, the mass organizations and numerous other forms of organization of socialist democracy, mobilizes and unites all working people for consciously creating their own social living conditions and developing their creative forces in a free and all-sided manner. As a result of this, fighting and preventing criminality is also becoming increasingly a conscious concern of the working people themselves.

No less clearly does the above mentioned connection also express itself in socialist production relationships. Most progressively pronounced in state owned property, socialist production relationships are developing as relationships of consciously united work of the working people for the benefit both of society and of the individual--relationships in which the working people are capable not only of simply asserting their basic right for collaboration and codetermination but of turning these basic rights into productive social creativity and--as is impressively shown, for example, by the innovator mass movement are in fact doing so with increasing effectiveness.

Logically, there is a similar connection also in respect to the constant raising of the material and cultural standard of living of the people as a result of the realization of the main task. As the conscious result of the creative work of the working people in town and country, this is not only the source--increasingly stable and rich--of the guarantee and implementation of the working people's comprehensive social and cultural rights anchored in the socialist constitution on the part of society, but it makes the

enjoyment and the assertion of these rights to an increasing extent an active stimulus of the development of consciously social, socialist thinking and behavior, and thus of new creative accomplishments by the working people for the progress and the prosperity of socialist society.

These essential aspects already make clear the following: Under conditions of real socialism, the realization or active assertion of the vested fundamental rights of the people and the citizens coincides with the formation and unfolding of such social relationships and processes, at the base and in the superstructure, as

--are directed with all their material and intellectual component toward the free and all-sided development of the essential creative forces of the working people, as of every human being, and

--therefore, by their very nature, are irreconcilable with criminality, as with any antisocial behavior, and consequently also incorporate its consistent, systematic containment and repression as an objective requirement of its own forward movement.

## II

It is but a consequence of the objective dialectic of the social connections expounded above that in a socialist society the strict guarantee and responsible assertion of human and civil rights are necessary prerequisites of their social effectiveness, their legality and justice, also as regards the fighting and prevention of criminality as such--understood as a specific process of a state-social nature extremely closely intertwined with these general connections but nevertheless to be distinguished from them both theoretically and practically--and also as regards the individual responsibility of the culprits under criminal law.

If Article 90, Paragraph 2, of the GDR Constitution and Articles 1 and 3 of the Penal Code lay down the fighting and prevention of criminality as a common task and responsibility of all of society, its state and the citizens, this is not an expression of wishful thinking but a reflection of the real democratism of our socialist society which is already deeply rooted in the thinking and action of the working people.

These fundamental norms, which are expanded further through concrete regulations of responsibility in GDR criminal law and criminal procedure--for example, Paragraphs 26, 31, 32, 46 of the Penal Code and Paragraphs 18, 19 and 256 of the Code of Criminal Procedure--call on the working people, their collectives, in asserting their fundamental right of collaboration and codetermination to do everything in their power to see to it that crimes are prevented, that still-existing causes and conditions of criminality are exposed and removed and that, at the same time, the way is opened to members of society who have committed a crime, by making up for their deed and by personal probation, to find their place as members of the socialist society with equal rights and equal obligations.

Under this aspect, too, it is shown that socialist society, its worker and peasant power and its legal system are constantly directed toward seeing to it that the concrete social conditions are progressively expanded and perfected for a people's behavior which is responsible and in keeping with human dignity, and thus, step by step, the social ground is cut and removed from under the feet of criminality. From this, if nothing else, also grows for our society and its state power the historical and political-moral entitlement to hold those people personally and legally responsible who by committing a crime irresponsibly disregard the conditions given to them concretely for behavior which accords with society and with behavior in keeping with human dignity.

A fundamental feature of socialist criminal law consists in the sure protection of the people's and the individual's freedom, and the ways and forms of its realization, agreeing with the basic rights, in the freedom and personality of the criminal being restricted only insofar as this is legally admissible and unavoidable (Article 30, Paragraph 2, of the Constitution). It is characteristic of socialist society that it effects a higher discipline through constant perfection of socialist democracy and through strict observance of socialist legality.

In socialism, therefore, the freedom, rights and dignity of man are not guaranteed just in preventing and fighting criminality, but of necessity are part his being.<sup>11</sup> Elimination of criminality is not suppression of the individual, nor is it purchased at the expense of restriction of his rights and freedoms. The indisputable and increasingly apparent successes in preventing and fighting criminality are achieved not by it being imposed on man from outside, as it were, not to commit any criminal actions, by increasingly restricting his freedoms and rights, by suppressing his dignity (all of which would contradict the essential nature of socialism), but by creating and perfecting relationships in which man can fully develop his abilities and talents, in which his rights and freedoms are expanded and his dignity is fully respected. This is also made clear in the pronounced basic-rights character of socialist penal law. It is no accident that a chapter, "Principles of Socialist Penal Law," was included in the GDR Penal Code which contains binding norms concerning the constitutional basic rights and basic duties in preventing and fighting criminality.

In fundamental contrast to this, it is the practice in the imperialist countries to oppose criminality by expanding and exacerbating repressive measures, restricting basic rights and dismantling trial procedure guarantees. Under the pretense of the constitutional order, the basic rights and basic freedoms laid down in constitutions are actually increasingly undermined. Evidence of this, for instance, is the introduction of Paragraphs 88a and 129a in the FRG Penal Code and the concomitant constitutional law changes. The dismantlement of basic rights--the freedom of the press, assembly and association as well as the right to defense--by means of the penal law is proclaimed as a necessary requirement in maintaining the system of basic rights. As has been shown, such paradoxes are unknown in socialist society.

A further basic feature of socialist penal policy is consideration of the individual peculiarities of the person of the culprit in implementing penal responsibility. Taking into account the antisocial nature of the crime and the danger to society it represents, measures are applied that best do justice to the culprit's individual peculiarities. From the very beginning, socialist penal justice has had nothing to do with the soulless formalism and schematism of bourgeois justice which, under the slogan "Without Regard to the Person," in fact disregards the man who has come into conflict with the penal laws of bourgeois society and--in whatever form--is directed toward subjugating him to capitalist society.

In socialist society no man who has violated the penal laws is abandoned and left to his own devices. In bringing him to account and requiring him to prove himself and to make up for his guilt, the socialist state at the same time opens up for him the opportunity of restoring the shaken confidence and to become a member of socialist society with equal rights and equal duties. It does not degrade him to becoming a mere object of his responsibility but challenges him as a subject and thus recognizes him as someone capable of self-determination and self-education.

In this attitude toward culprits, the advantages of socialism and its humanist character clearly make themselves felt. Thus state ownership and the socialist planned economy also make possible a uniform solution of social reintegration of released culprits in accordance with principles most conducive to the further development of the released culprits. The socialist production relationships and the relation of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance, as well as of respect for the dignity of man based on them, promote the readiness of numerous labor collectives which are concerned for the social education of criminals.

The further elaboration of the developed socialist society provides increasingly favorable conditions for differentiating punishment and its implementation in accordance with the individual peculiarities of the person of each criminal. This end is also served by expansion of the possibilities of applying punishment and making it effective which are not connected with imprisonment. "Wherever the crime itself and the circumstances of the criminal action as well as appreciation of the culprit's total personality make possible measures not entailing imprisonment--primarily on the basis of the increased strength of the collective--this educational reaction is to be given preference."<sup>12</sup>

Participation by social forces, primarily the labor collective, in criminal procedures<sup>13</sup> contributes to more exact knowledge of the personality of the accused. Thereby those penal law measures can be applied which are apt to make the person affected observe socialist legality in the future. The labor collective and other collectives in which the culprit lives, as well as his immediate superiors who know him best, are capable of correctly assessing his strong and weak points, his virtues and faults, and thus can help the judicial organs in the application of penal measures which best do justice to the individuality of the sentenced person. This also makes

it possible to develop the educational effect on violators of the penal law through measures of penal law responsibility as a process of the realization of human freedom--that is, as a process of conscious self-determination and self-education for responsible action. In socialist society it is not blind subjugation but, according to its nature, "coincidence of the changing of the circumstances and human activity,"<sup>14</sup> as Marx put it in his "Thesen ueber Feuerbach" [Theses About Feuerbach].

In socialism, therefore, education with a view to social behavior is not--as the ideologists of anticommunism maintain--'alien determination,' 'restriction of the freedom of movement of the individual,' let alone destruction of the human individual, but a social process in which agreement is established between control over nature and one's own socialization, on the one hand, and control by personalities over themselves, on the other. Since the two are mutually interdependent, education and self-education form part of the realization of freedom."<sup>15</sup> Education through measures of penal law responsibility--whether it is a case of punishment with or without imprisonment or of educational measures by social courts--in its concrete formation and realization is determined by this content of education in socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works" [Works], Vol 4, Berlin 1959, p 482.
2. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works", Vol 1, Berlin, 1957, p 385.
3. Suffice it here to refer to the Law About Local People's Representation and Their Organs of 12 July 1973, the Law of the Structure of the Judiciary of 27 September 1974, the Law About Social Courts of 11 June 1968, the Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, the Law About Implementation of Punishment and Rehabilitation of 12 January 1968 in the version of 19 December 1974 as well as the Civil Code of 19 June 1975.
4. Cf also F. Malter, "Die Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED - Kraftquell fuer die sozialistische Menschenrechtspraxis in der DDR" [The Decisions of the Ninth SED Congress--Source of Strength of Socialist Human Rights Practice in the GDR], in "Menschenrechte im Sozialismus--materielle und juristische Garantien" [Human Rights in Socialism--Material and Legal Guarantees], Berlin, 1976, p 6.
5. Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Berlin, 1976, p 19.
6. Cf H. J. Schneider, "Criminology in Action," MONATSSCHRIFT FUER KRIMINOLOGIE UND STRAFRECHTSREFORM, 1968, p 367.
7. Cf G. Kaiser, "Zum Verhaeltnis Kriminologie und Kriminalpolitik in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [Concerning the Relationship Between



Criminology and Penal Policy in Socialist Society], KRIMINOLOGISCHE SCHRIFTENREIHE, Vol 29, Hamburg, 1967, p 211.

8. Cf Second Session of the SED Central Committee. "Zu aktuellen Fragen unserer Innen--und Aussenpolitik nach dem IX. Parteitag" [Concerning Topical Questions of Our Domestic and Foreign Policy After the Ninth Party Congress]. From the concluding remarks by Comrade Erich Honecker, Berlin, 1976, p 15.
9. Cit from J. Basedow, in JURISTENZEITUNG, 1976, No 10, p 297.
10. Second Session of the SED Central Committee..., loc cit, p 18.
11. Cf E. Hahn, "Demokratie - Gesellschaft - Weltanschauung" [Democracy--Society--Weltanschauung], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, 1976, p 901.
12. J. Streit, "Auf dem bewaehrten Kurs weiter voran!" [Proceed on the Proven Course!], NEUE JUSTIZ, 1976, p 225.
13. Cf H. Weber, "Mitwirkung der Arbeitskollektive im Strafverfahren - Verwirklichung der sozialistischen Demokratie" [Participation of the Labor Collective in Criminal Procedure--Realization of Socialist Democracy], STAAT UND RECHT, 1975, p 398; H. Wolf, K. Backhaus, "Die Kollektivberatung--eine wichtige Form der Mitwirkung der Werktuetigen am Strafverfahren" [Collective Consultation--An Important Form of Participation of Working People in Criminal Procedure], NEUE JUSTIZ, 1976, p 225.
14. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Works", Vol 3, Berlin, 1958, p 534.
15. H. Schliwa, "Demokratie und Freiheit des einzelnen" [Democracy and Freedom of the Individual], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FUER PHILOSOPHIE, 1976, p 922.

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## HUNGARY

### EDUCATION SYSTEM TO BE MODERNIZED

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 11 Mar 77 pp 3-6

[Speech by Minister of Education Karoly Polinszky. Introduction by KOZNEVELES: "The first national parliament of young teachers was held on 26 and 27 February 1977 at the Zanka Pioneer City. The introductory lecture, which we publish below, was given by Minister of Education Karoly Polinszky at the conference which was participated in by 180 delegates. In the near future the Ministry of Education will answer in KOZNEVELES the questions raised at the conference."]

[Text] Dear comrades, my dear young friends!

I greet with respect all participants in the first national parliament of young teachers. I give special greetings to the parliament delegates who, representing 35,000 young teachers, have met to exchange ideas about their work and tasks and their common problems in and out of the schools.

In our homeland we regard as one of the most important social policy problems a correct youth policy and its consistent execution. An entire series of party and government resolutions and a multiplicity of essential measures indicate this. For example, there was the youth policy position of the MSZMP Central Committee worked out in 1970, the youth law adopted by the National Assembly in 1971, a resolution passed by the MSZMP Central Committee in 1972 concerning the status of state education and tasks for its further development, a resolution passed 2 years later concerning public cultural policy and the public culture law given legal force last year by the National Assembly. All of these, directly or indirectly, affect broad masses of the youth. There is no national forum--be it party congress, KISZ congress or trade union congress--in which the present and future of the youth, the development of their fate and their happiness, do not appear as an important social policy question.

This special attention derives from the essence of our policy. Socialism and socialist construction are not the privilege of adult society. Socialism is being built in our homeland for 10.5 million Hungarian citizens, including those who will continue our cause, the youth. And this means a great responsibility for adult society because just as our fathers were

not indifferent in regard to what they bequeathed to us in the time of our youth so it is not a matter of indifference to the youth of today what we bequeath to them. We are bequeathing to you an inheritance more dear than that of any previous adult generation, a socialist Hungary which is politically and economically strong, and our youth policy is nourished by the responsibility assumed for this.

We did not begin this policy today nor in the recent past, we began it a good 30 years ago and we can point to epochal achievements worthy of recognition in the education of generations which are becoming socialist. Of course it is a peculiar problem of our career and our profession that the results achieved in education are not so apparent as the successes achieved in industry or agriculture, for our work will have its effect only after years or decades. But a few data still say much. Just think, in 1950 only 23.5 percent of the children of nursery age attended nurseries--in 1976, however 79.7 percent of them did. In 1950, 71,000 children graduated from the eighth grade and not quite 70 percent of them went on to secondary school; 25 years later, 122,000 children finished the eighth grade of general school and more than 90 percent of them went on to secondary school. In 1950 almost 57,000 attended skilled worker schools; in 1975, 165,000 did. A quarter century ago there were 96,000 secondary school students; today there are 210,000. And in this same period the number of students in institutions of higher education increased from 32,500 to 110,000.

Behind these data there have often been efforts which exceeded our strength and possibilities. Just think of the nearly 200,000 nursery positions created in the 25 years (nearly half of these 200,000 created by the Fourth Five-Year Plan), think of the more than 20,000 new classrooms, of the more than 30,000 new student home positions or of the entire series of newly constructed institutions of higher education.

Since the June 1972 resolution of the MSZMP Central Committee the government has provided annually substantial supplementary credit to equip general schools and improve textbook supply. Realizing the goals of the education policy resolution requires from the people's economy no small material investment. The developmental program of the Fifth Five-Year Plan reflects our educational policy activity. The investment prescription for the cultural branch exceeds the Fourth Five-Year Plan by 43 percent. This includes greater expenditures than in the previous five-year plan by a total of 68 percent for educational investment and by about 150 percent for the three stressed areas (nurseries, general schools and skilled worker training).

If I now stop listing facts it is not because I have thus exhausted the record of our achievements, for I have not even spoken of such important measures as, for example, the child care aid or housing construction programs which also affect the masses of youth. But I think that sticking to our narrower area, education, these few data convincingly prove that our socialist society has achieved results in raising the culture of our people and in caring for youth which will stand comparison in international levels

also. You, who were all born after the liberation, have grown up and been educated and become teachers and can sit here now as a result of this policy.

Naturally, when speaking of our achievements I must note that step by step in accordance with our strength we have also improved the living and working conditions of young teachers between 20 and 30 years of age.

For example, the majority of the leaders of our educational institutions effectively aid those assigned to them and the councils are turning greater care to decreasing the problems of beginning a career. With the exception of primary school teachers, we have decreased the number of obligatory weekly hours for teachers; we have increased the pay of nursery teachers and untrained teachers and have increased the sums for resettlement aid; we have created favorable conditions for the education of the new leadership staffs; in cooperation with the councils we have improved the housing situation for young teachers with construction loans, housing purchases and increasing the number of service apartments.

We should list among the achievements the convening of the parliament of young teachers. At the place of work and megye conferences which preceded this conference today many questions were debated and a good number of problems solved. Representatives from the ministry participated in all megye and capital conferences and they established that in the majority of the megyes, with the cooperation of the KISZ, the place of work and megye conferences were well organized; confusion and lack of preparation were the exception. The delegates not only formulated the personal questions of their generation, sometimes calmly and sometimes passionately, but pointed with understanding to our most urgent educational policy problems. Much was said about everything from disturbing local problems to preparations for the new study plans. I feel that the most important task of our meeting today is to group these according to their importance, in some cases to reformulate them and to seek possibilities for solution.

Let me talk about a few themes which you, too, have judged to be especially important. There was much talk at the megye parliaments about the prestige of a teaching career and about an awareness of mission. The delegates noted with alarm that teaching careers appeal "only to women," that "quite a few are leaving the profession," that "people look down on those in the profession" and so forth. It is certainly true that many young people do not consider teaching attractive and many of them with degrees, especially those who have graduated from a university, seek work in other branches of the economy. It is also true that many even among those engaged in practice teaching yield to temptation and take work in other areas. But we should look at the data concerning this disturbing problem. On 31 December 1975, 73.6 percent of all teachers were women. Their numbers differ according to age. For example, while their share among those 51-55 years of age is 63.3 percent it is 82.6 percent among those 26-30 and even higher for those under 25. Let me note here that at this same point in time 5,684 nursery and general school teachers were on maternity leave.

In 1975, 1,472 people abandoned teaching--339 from secondary schools, 1,001 from general schools and 132 from nurseries. We should note that in 1975, 928 trained teachers returned from other careers.

All this indicates an unsatisfactory prestige for teaching careers and we should urgently examine the reason for this. We cannot agree with the view which attributes the lack of prestige solely to material causes.

There is more involved here.

We should not ignore the fact that in a country with a less developed economy and which needs fewer teachers than we do other economic and service branches do not have such an attraction as in an economically strong country. In the past 25 years here the number of graduate experts employed in industry, agriculture, health and trade has increased many times. At the same time, between 1950 and 1975, the number of teachers increased 2.5 times. Why did not the relatively low pay keep these some 75,000 teachers away from teaching careers? We would come closer to the truth if we recognized that the career opportunities for young people have increased many times. Nor should we be silent about the fact that the social demands being made of teaching work and of schools have increased.

Teachers justly expect the respect of society, for by educating the generation of the future they carry out an extraordinarily important social task. It is necessary for them to feel in their work the support of our socialist society and the respect due self-sacrificing educational work. But this cannot be ordered or decreed. The teachers themselves must win it by satisfying the obligations of their office as well as they are able. You, the young teachers, know truly how difficult it is to meet the increasing demands. A newly graduated surgeon, economist or engineer is given easier work or partial tasks when beginning a career. But from the moment you take office one expects from you the full development of the socialist man.

Among the causes of loss of prestige some mention the employment of untrained teachers. In addition to the causes mentioned a role has certainly been played in the development of this situation by deficiencies in planning labor force needs even if the figures sometimes indicate otherwise. Between 1970 and 1975, for example, the number of teachers increased by 15 percent while the number of students admitted to teacher training institutes increased by 35 percent. But we should also note, for example, that the Fourth Five-Year Plan calculated on 35,000 nursery positions while, as we already noted, almost 100,000 were created. We could not have predicted this dynamic development since we did not take into consideration or, I might say, we could not have taken into consideration in our planning work the results of the population policy resolution and child care aid. Qualitative processes have been initiated in the schools which require a great many teachers--just think of the special groups, correctional classes and the school-home forms. There is no denying the fact that we have gotten

into an emergency situation and while I do not say it as an excuse, we are not alone in this. So the question was, should the children be taught by those without training or by no one.

We chose those without training.

So people without training are working at teaching careers not because it is possible but rather and primarily because they are needed temporarily. This defines our position and our measures in connection with teachers without training. Many said that by adjusting the wages of teachers without training a wage tension had been created between them and those with training. Certainly we must resolve this tension but I call your attention to the fact that those without training must carry out the same tasks as those with training. Naturally in education we should also pay for the special knowledge which is more effective, but what is involved is a transitional state of affairs. It should not be forgotten that many of those without training would have gladly attended regular classes at a college or university, having met the admission requirements, but they were rejected for lack of space. And now they are trying as untrained teachers, with no little work and effort, to win their diplomas and become good teachers in accordance with their original desires. The great majority are doing this. Certainly there are some among them who are not fit for teaching careers, but who would dare say that this is not also true of some who have degrees. So I am not defending the bad ones but rather those who have taken up teaching careers and who are suitable for it whether they are trained or not.

There was much talk at the megye parliaments about young people starting careers and getting situated, about their morale. We can state with pleasure that the councils and the directors are doing more and more to improve living and working conditions. It is our impression that despite all the problems and deficiencies, among the young teachers who work in our schools morale is good. I say, in opposition to all doubters, that the new generation of our teacher society is of good quality, that the teachers under 30 are worthy of their older colleagues. This is reassuring because the younger generation will be active workers in public education until the end of the 20th century or beyond. They will play an important role in realizing the new educational aspirations of the 1980's. So it is very important for us amidst what circumstances the members of the younger generation begin and carry out their work and what sort of teachers they become.

The initial period of one's career can have an effect on one's later career and in the final analysis the teacher society of decades to come is being formed in the present.

We issued an action plan based on the youth law for the purpose of aiding the participation of young teachers in the realization of the educational policy goals of the party. We expect the young people to carry out their tasks in an exemplary and professional manner and to educate the student youth with good preparation and devotion. Employers should help in this

by giving young people starting work jobs suiting their training and ability. They should aid them in fitting into their place of work, getting settled and solving the problems of starting a family.

Fitting in is not primarily a generation problem. The causes of difficulties usually do not derive from differences in age but rather from differences in view, life style and conception of life. You know very well that those espousing conservative views in teaching are not always necessarily the older. There are many older teachers who are modern in their views and conception of life and sensitive to what is new and this cannot be said of all young people. It is not only the person starting his or her career but the community receiving him or her which have obligations in regard to fitting in. The individual must develop a readiness to fit into the community but the members of the collective must rush to the aid of the newcomer and ease the fitting in with their experience and advice.

Beginning a career has many problems and difficulties in addition to fitting in. You know this best of all. For example, no few problems are caused, after the thought-inspiring years of training, by the necessity of confronting and harmonizing with practice the many school conventions and the fresh knowledge brought from college or university. Everyone reacts to the possible conflicts according to his temperament. Some are inspired to diligent work, others are left apathetic. Some are moved to resentment or resistance. Although no one can change his temperament still, I ask you, try to help if some confuse youthful enthusiasm with demagoguery, healthy criticism with a denunciation of everything, modernity with pseudo-modernness, open handedness with empty cynicism or the freedom for independent action with negligence. This is necessary, too, because the apparent opposition of the few has a harmful effect on our teacher society which is working with an awareness of mission. The personality of a teacher is an educational force which influences others consciously or unconsciously. Cooperation is also in our common interest because in a teaching career tasks cannot be solved if we oppose one another but only jointly and in common.

At the megye parliaments the problems of teacher training and further training came under fire by the speakers. Let me talk about both areas.

There were two large groups of questions connected with training. One pertains to the number of teachers being trained, to the aging problem which some consider "threatening." The other pertains to the content of teacher training. There were a good number of suggestions voiced in connection with the latter, too. We are also dealing much with the problem of aging or, more precisely, retirement and the future teacher needs, thus training plan figures. There is no cause for special alarm. Almost 30 percent of the teachers now working are under 30, the main body of those 31-45 accounts for 45 percent and the group over 46 hardly comes to 25 percent. Naturally these ratios differ according to type of institution. For example, in remedial teaching institutions the ratio of those under 30 is 37 percent,

it does not reach 20 percent in the gymnasiums and is only 14.4 percent in the workers' secondary schools. The ratios differ in different megyes, too. For example, in the capital almost 50 percent of the teachers will be entitled to pensions by 1990, while this ratio in Nograd Megye comes to only 27 percent. The ratios also change according to branch of study. By 1990, looking at general school teachers, 44.2 percent of the history teachers will be entitled to pensions while only 23 percent of the Russian-language and literature teachers will be.

With the approval of higher organs we will take a number of measures to ease the presently existing teacher shortage. For example, we will increase the number of day students in teacher training institutions, we will create three or four extension teacher training facilities which will graduate 400 teachers annually. In order to satisfy just demands, beginning in September of this year we will admit to the evening and correspondence branches of institutions training general school teachers only those who are working as untrained teachers. We will improve the level of evening and correspondence instruction, review the work of the megye consultation centers created to help correspondence students, and take measures to improve conditions further in the interest of better preparation, among other things providing notes more smoothly. By bringing in the best practice teachers we will make possible regular hospitality and consultation sessions for correspondence students and we will build this possibility into the system of teacher training. Naturally we will arrange for special payment to teachers dealing with correspondence students.

In cooperation with the Council Office of the Council of Ministers we will examine how the teacher labor force management of the councils can be made more effective, too. We will consistently carry out better guided placement and, without causing material disadvantage, we will transfer trained teachers according to need from higher classes to lower. Where possible we will take measures to combine unjustifiably small classes and day-school groups. Naturally this cannot mean a reinstitution of combined class study groups. In cooperation with the councils we will make efforts to see that more of the good teachers reaching retirement age continue working and we will increase the number of candidate teachers benefiting from social scholarships.

And let me mention yet another one of our actions even though we expect to profit from it only indirectly. Beginning in September we will introduce into the third year of a few gymnasiums a teaching course. Naturally those who take this course will not be trained as teachers but they will get teaching and psychology basics and, hopefully, an interest in assuming a teaching career.

If their school grades and aptitude are suitable we plan to admit without an admissions examination into correspondence or evening branches of teacher training institutions, in harmony with their practical activity, young people doing work in nurseries, general schools or day schools without training if they have obtained teaching basics in a gymnasium.



We have been paying attention to those observations and recommendations which were made at the megye parliaments concerning the content of teacher training, for it is just the young people who have recently come from the colleges and universities who best feel that conflict which arises when what they have learned is compared to practical requirements and demands. It is our judgment that some of the questions raised must certainly be examined. Noteworthy, for example, are those observations which pertain to more effective preparation for movement work and a more organized teaching of the pedagogics and methodology of the youth movement. Certainly we must improve the supply of notes to candidate teachers. Also worthy of consideration is whether we should change the time of examinations for correspondence students so that they do not coincide with the end of the school year, already crowded with work.

But I would like to attach some observations to a few of the demands. Several asked that it be possible to take study leave not only during breaks but whenever needed. This request seems just. But I suggest that you think about this, too, that quite a few teachers are continuing their studies, half the faculty in some schools, and their already overburdened colleagues would have to take over their classes when they prepared for exams. A good bit of confusion could arise from this. Under present conditions the most we can undertake--and I think we must do this--is to relieve teachers preparing for their examinations of all outside work.

There was also a recommendation that we expand possibilities for specializing in educational psychology. I consider it very important that educators acquire pedagogic and psychological knowledge, but today, when we must turn the capacity of the teacher training institutions to the chief task, teaching those without training, I see little possibility for this. However, I do consider it important that we provide an opportunity for all this within the framework of organized further training.

In any case we must modernize and develop advanced teacher training, too. This became especially obvious in the years after passage of the 1971 councils law when significant changes took place in the local organization of advanced training with the creation of megye advanced training cabinets and institutes, many of which have done and are doing completely outstanding organizing and substantive work. In addition to this organizational cause the introduction of the new study plans and preparation for new tasks also require modernization of advanced training. We are pleased by the demand for further training which can be experienced in broad circles of teachers. Even the mothers on maternity leave, making use of child care aid, are demanding the creation of an organized opportunity so that they can keep up with the development of and changes in their profession. All this obliges us to issue new regulations systematizing further training within a definite time limit. The regulations have been delivered to other national offices for their opinion. The public life and political activity of young people occupied a significant place in the reports and comments at the megye parliaments. The majority of the speakers acknowledged with pleasure the

public life-political activity of the youth. In addition to the fact that many young teachers in the schools carry out important political-social functions (party liaison, Pioneer leaders, trade union stewards, labor protection and defense officers) more and more are receiving places in the elected bodies of political, state and social organs outside the schools. The number of KISZ members is rather high, KISZ primary organizations for teachers are increasing in number and those speaking at the parliaments urged the organization of more of them. It is certain that young teachers undertake more public life tasks as compared to other intellectual workers in residential areas, especially smaller settlements. This certainly causes extra work and greater burdens and fatigue. It is true that much of this work does not belong strictly to their professional responsibilities, but public life activity can hardly be separated from their profession. They can educate the young, growing generation well only if they seize with the same responsibility every opportunity to form the socialist aspect of adult society, too. It is an entirely different question whether the public life and movement work could or should be divided up in the faculties more evenly.

And now I must talk about a theme which many consider "sensitive." A recurring theme at the place of work and megye parliaments was the wage situation of teachers, especially of young teachers starting their careers, more precisely the fact that their incomes are substantially lower than the incomes of those employed in other intellectual spheres. I must say by way of information that not only the Ministry of Education and the Teachers' Trade Union but every responsible higher organ recognizes the situation which has developed and the tensions which are appearing ever more sharply in connection with this. Detailed data and analyses are available which justify our aiding with central wage policy measures the wage and income situation of those working in institutions of public education. This is also supported by the June 1972 resolution of the MSZMP Central Committee concerning the status of state education and the tasks for its further development which established even then that the material recognition of teachers was not in sufficient harmony with the importance of their work. This statement is also supported by data of the Central Statistics Office which prove unambiguously that the wage level of teachers and educational workers lags behind that of workers in other areas of the people's economy.

This situation has been produced not only by the fact that central wage policy measures are long overdue but also by the fact that the guidance organs and institutional leaders handling educational wage prescriptions have not and do not always make adequate use of annual wage development quotas at their disposal, despite the fact that the attention of the councils has been called to this many times. Making use of press, radio and television our ministry has pointed out on numerous occasions that it is unnecessary to reserve a part of the existing wage prescription and build up significant award frameworks from the savings because the purpose of annual wage development is an annual increase in the base wage of teachers

and educational workers. We have often expressed our opinion that a higher base wage would tie teachers to the institution better than possible awards.

I might say also that the Ministry of Education has proposals supported by detailed calculations and worked out to improve the wage and income situation of educational institutions. A solution, wage policy measures affecting the entire public education institutional network, may appear as part of general wage policy measures by the government during the Fifth Five-Year Plan--hopefully in that part of it closer to us. In its ideas about the necessary measures, the Ministry of Education is thinking of a more dynamic development of the wages of general school teachers, young and lower paid teachers and education workers and, in general, of a solution to the very urgent problems.

I know that you also have many tasks and problems. It is not easy to hold daily classes, prepare for the classes, lead sessions outside of class, correct written assignments, prepare lessons and materials, continue your own education and then have the problems of starting a family, problems caused by housing conditions and perhaps transportation difficulties. And I did not even mention political, social and public life tasks and the need for recreation. But still I must say that even with the problems you are actually members of a fortunate generation. You represent the age group for which the building of socialism in Hungary is natural. It is not an event to be celebrated but a fact which is self-evident. For this very reason--because it was born in it--this age group spreads the principles of socialism naturally to every area of life, happy if no deviation is experienced between everyday life and its own norms and dissatisfied if practice is found to conflict with what has been learned. I think that we can be happy that we who have been members of adult Hungarian society for 30 years have educated this generation to be this way. I can say with no less pride that we have educated outstanding colleagues with whom we will jointly and successfully solve a great many tasks yet. Because socialism still contains enough for us to do. I would like now to speak of a few of these tasks in the execution of which we especially count on the aid and understanding support of the young teachers.

These tasks are actually contained in the 1972 education policy resolution. We must unite our strength to carry out what is contained therein. There have been achievements in our work and we have actually gone beyond the tasks which could be solved in a short time. I might merely mention the decrease in the study materials, the measures taken thus far in the interest of democratizing school life, the publication of the new regulations, and a whole series of experiments aiding a modernization of educational work.

But now we stand before a great new task--we will modernize our study plans. Many tasks derive from this for educators, including young teachers. They will have greater freedom but their responsibilities will be greater, too.

We consider especially important the improvement of political-worldview education work based on a Marxist-Leninist conviction. We are counting greatly on you in this for your nearness in age to the youth being taught uniquely increases the possibility of a conscious political-worldview effect. To fail to recognize these possibilities or make use of them would be the greatest possible neglect. The world is opening up for the children as it is for us. That our goals and intentions not be distorted, that we make the growing generation capable of resisting views which contradict socialist principles, capable of resisting other unfavorable influences--all this justifies giving political-worldview education work first place among educational tasks also. I must add to this the exemplary public life activity done out of conviction, rooting the principles of socialist democracy and their development in our everyday life. Strengthening the spirit of socialist democracy in the educational faculties is very important for the execution of public life tasks and the development of a good place of work atmosphere. I ask you to develop the view and behavior of your place of work and environment with sincere criticism, open opinions and constructive intentions and to contribute by your example to the development and strengthening of a socialist school, a creative teaching workshop with a good atmosphere. The schools also received magnificent goals and tasks at the 11th congress of our party. Let us not forget that the program statement announced that further study at the secondary level should become general. With this in mind we should again think it through: Did we get every child to finish general school in time without loss? Did we aid every child to study further in a suitable type of school? Have we done all we can so that everyone getting into skilled worker training, trade secondary school or gymnasium should complete his or her studies?

If anyone is interested in the renewal and modernization of the schools, then for you these changes will define your working decades to come. In this great undertaking we are counting on you not only as those who will carry out this work; in the course of preparing it and working it out also we need your knowledge, expertise, activity and receptiveness to the new. I ask you to help us with complete devotion in the work of modernization so that we can stand with a clear conscience before our successors and say sincerely that according to our best knowledge and strength we have done everything which was humanly possible.

My dear young friends!

I have come to the end of what I had to say.

I could not talk about everything. I ask you to make good use of the opportunities presented by this parliament and to represent with responsibility that cause which 35,000 of your young colleagues have entrusted to you.

Bring up your problems, make your proposals for solutions, help the guidance of public education!

Your age group has unique problems but we must find together, as is characteristic of our society, the ways and means to solve them.

I wish all of you success in this.

8984

CSO: 2500

POLAND

## STUDENT UNION EFFORTS TO IMPROVE EFFECTIVENESS REPORTED

### Plenum Discusses SZSP Congress

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13 Jan 77 pp 1-2

[Text] For the greater effectiveness of ideological and educational work, for the modern, socialist higher education, for reinforcing the authority of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students]--this was the slogan of the 15th Plenary Session of the Main Administration of the SZSP held on 12 January. After discussion of the report presented by the SZSP Main Administration, the plenum passed two resolutions: To accept the programmatic theses for the Second Congress of the SZSP and to declare a general review of the students' academic activities.

Zdzislaw Kurowski, chairman of the Main Council of the FSZMP [Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth], participated in the deliberations of the plenum which was held in the Central Council of Trade Unions conference room. The meeting was chaired by Stanislaw Gabrielski, vice chairman of the Main Council of the FSZMP and chairman of the SZSP Main Administration.

In 3 months, the student organization will welcome its Second Congress. It will review the achievements of the past 4 years and outline the tasks for the coming years. This is being discussed now in all SZSP units. After the 15th Plenary Session, the discussion will concentrate on the matters which the plenum defines as the most essential for the student organization and environment.

Stanislaw Gabrielski said in his report: "We want the preconference discussion to be an exchange of views among student youth on the subjects most important to Poland and the Poles and on our active participation in implementing the resolutions of the Seventh PZPR Congress. We want this discussion to deal with the prospects of our union, our achievements and failures. We will do everything to assure that the Second Congress of the SZSP prepares an ambitious program for student youth to build an advanced socialist society.

One of the main thrusts of our work is the education of student youth in the spirit of socialist patriotism. This means the necessity of creating among

students a sense of responsibility for the development of socialist Poland and developing a social and civic consciousness.

The task of our organization, the speaker continued, is to reach the students with the message of the Fifth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee which outlined the objectives of Poland's socioeconomic development plan for the next 5-year period. The point is to obtain in the discussions the active support for these objectives, support manifested by better work and study on the part of the students. The activities of the organization must be undertaken in close cooperation with the school both in the area of educational matters and scholastic and didactic matters.

Among the matters to which the SZSP attaches great importance is to assure equal developmental opportunities to the city and country youth, to the working class, peasant and intelligentsia youth. The social composition of higher school youth still differs from the composition of our society; there are too few children of workers and peasants in higher schools. The student organization will actively join the efforts to work out new concepts of the recruiting system.

To restructure higher education, to adapt it to the demands of modern life and to make it an open system--these are the problems which certainly will be in the mainstream of preparations for the Second SZSP Congress.

Several speakers took part in the discussion. Their remarks focused on matters related to perfecting the ideological education efforts in the basic units of the SZSP, the creation of an ideologically engaged atmosphere in higher schools, the improvement of intraorganizational efficiency and the preparation of the SZSP activists to join the ranks of the party.

In conclusion of the deliberations, the plenum passed two resolutions; To accept the programmatic theses for the Second SZSP Congress and to declare a general review of students' academic activities and of the state of didactics.

#### Deficiencies of Activity Groups

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 8 Nov 76 p 4

[Text] There are 9,000 of them. It can be said that they deserve the name of activity groups. There should be more of them. But there is a dilemma concerning whether a paper organization deserves a name or should wait until the collective which is the group becomes strong enough to undertake its statutory duties. The opponents of empty statistics are winning. An SZSP activity group must not be a fiction.

It is a long way from this basically theoretical statement to higher school practice. Despite the creation of a program of activities, despite clearly defined tasks and duties, the group, which is the basic unit of the student organization, has had to take over many tasks from the higher echelons and

this required new work format and a new definition of the principles of accountability from each member of the collective. They have not been able to cope with this in all schools. Various obstacles have been cited; some claim that, for instance, the activities groups cannot be the same as the dean's groups, some say that there is a conflict of interest within the school groups, etc. Hard work at a few higher school organizations--at the Main School of Planning and Statistics, at the University of Silesia, at the University of Wroclaw--has demonstrated that if there is the will all obstacles and barriers of this kind can be overcome. Of course, this does not mean that the role and the place of the group in the student community life should not be discussed. The mere fact that the group must represent the interests of all youth imposes corresponding obligations and difficulties. The not clearly defined status of the group leader does not make things any easier. Many controversies arise regarding the relationship between the group and the faculty council.

#### Whose Partner Is the Group?

Tradition tells school authorities to seek the opinions on student matters from the faculty or school councils. All self-government bodies also function on the basis of delegates from these channels. And now a new partner has appeared in school: the group. It wants to talk to the class dean or the dean of students regarding the school schedule, it has decisive influence regarding the distribution of state material aid and, finally, it stands up for the student who is threatened with expulsion from the school. It is up to the faculty authorities whether they want to treat the new partner seriously. There are signs that in many schools the new role of the activity group is not understood. Sometimes there is no response to its suggestions. During the Second Conference of the SZSP activity group chairmen, the leaders of two teams, Renata Olejnik and Zbigniew Pankiewicz, emphasized that this was the problem most often raised by the delegates. Probably this, among other things, explains the support for promulgating a charter for the activity groups. What kind of a charter would this be? Generally it can be said that it would be a summary of rights and duties. Primarily it would concern the members of the organization, but it would be also a document defining the place of the group in the school.

These are still very imprecise statements. The idea of drafting such a charter appeared just recently, it needs to be discussed among the students. One thing is certain, such a charter would normalize the matters which are now contributing to many conflicts. Let us consider the example of issuing references by the student collective. Should those references be the basis for granting scholarships, a place in the dormitory, training abroad, etc? The students say yes but the administrative authorities prefer to seek the opinion of the faculty or of the dean of the class. This practice leads to the students' demands for the exclusive right to issue references. Not all students, however, would agree with this solution. For instance, Mieczyslaw Malski, leader of a Poznan Medical Academy group, thinks that giving exclusive rights to the group would be unfair to the students active at higher echelons or in other social organizations. In his opinion, the group should be the basic evaluating body but not the only one.



This and other examples prove that at the time of activating the groups their place in the school community life was not fully defined. The charter being drafted by the SZSP Main Administration will contribute to clarification of this situation.

#### A Good Chairman, a Good Group

The delegates to the Second Conference of activity group chairmen were the best ones among the school chairmen. Perhaps this was the reason they stressed very strongly that very much depends on the efforts of a group leader. If he treats his duties seriously and has enough moral courage to stand up to the administration, it can be guaranteed that even a loosely connected group of people will become a cohesive and well attuned collective. Leszek Cendal of the Dżestochowa Teachers College cited examples of situations in which the election of a chairman indicated in advance the defeat of the group. What kind of leader is a man who can only argue about shifting the dates for course credit or what respect can a young man have who encourages his schoolmates to skip school? Election of such men as chairmen happens quite often in the early years of studies when members of the group do not know each other and when they become impressed by youthful cockiness not supported by good judgment.

To find a suitable, authentic group leader among the students of beginning classes is difficult. But, on the other hand, school organizations do not take much interest in the newly admitted students before the beginning of the academic year. Timid efforts are made by the Warsaw higher schools to look over the candidates during entrance examinations, investigate their social interests and direct them to vacation camps for new students. The candidates are introduced to the student organizations, the problems of student life and student self-government. Such people are quicker to grasp the main problems of the organization and are in a better position to gather around themselves those willing to engage in social work. Still too little information on the SZSP is passed on to freshmen during their worker training. The simplest trick has been completely forgotten, which is to encourage the scout activists to do the work; they have rich experience and know how to create collectives.

#### Is the Group for the Council's Benefit, or the Council for the Group's Benefit

One of the basic problems which appeared after the activity groups had been organized was their relationship with the faculty council. Should the action flow up, i.e., from the group to the council or the reverse? At first, the former tendency prevailed. The group was left to itself and its successes, if any, were credited to the council. Besides, the more active group leaders were promoted to a higher level and failed to take interest in the affairs of their fellow students. Hence the controversy regarding the issue of references. The proponents of making the group stronger at any cost demand that each member of the organization be rated on the basis of his work in his own group. The aggressive presentation of this demand caused a change in the relations between the faculty councils and the groups. The councils became

more interested in what was going on in the groups and extended financial and substantive help. However, the relations do not look like that everywhere. The councils too often forget whom they are supposed to serve.

#### Nine Thousand and What Next?

The battle for the activity groups is becoming the basic task of the student organization in the reporting and election campaign which has begun. Not only the strength of SZSP but also the total ideological-educational process in higher schools depends on what the groups will be. It is impossible to imagine any action in this area which could exclude the group. The group should actively participate in all matters related to the studies and attitudes.

The Second Conference of group leaders started a new phase in the discussion of the tasks of student collectives. It is no longer just a discussion of tasks resulting from the program, it is time to think about intensifying activities and expanding them beyond matters related to studies. Faculty elections have been held in the schools. The new councils can show what they are worth. Certainly, during the Second Congress of the SZSP, the activity groups will be discussed. How they will be discussed will be decided by the students.

#### Warsaw Politechnic Conference

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 22 Nov 76 pp 1-2

[Text] Today it is difficult to imagine that any significant decisions relating to the school life could be taken without consultations with student representatives. It would be difficult to deny that self-government is one of the most effective instruments to shape social attitudes among the youth. Just a few years ago those were only suggestions. The idea of self-government was fully implemented only by the SZSP.

Questions of self-government held prominent place at the SZSP reporting election conference at the Warsaw Politechnic. The following persons participated in the deliberations: Zdzisław Kurowski, chairman of the GSZMP Main Council; Stanisław Gabrielski, chairman of the SZSP Main Administration; Jerzy Bolesławski, chairman of the GSZMP Voivodship Council; and the school authorities.

The harvest of the 2-day deliberations was very rich. Many matters were discussed. Among other things, the prestige of the organization which depends on all its members was discussed. Therefore, the ideological-educational efforts and their reaching all the students are of special importance. Acknowledgment of correct substantive work by the SZSP at the Warsaw Politechnic was the awarding to the SZSP by a majority of the faculty councils the right to recommend the best members of their aktiv for the ranks of the PZPR.

Attention was also drawn to the task of educating the young intelligentsia, young people with high ideological and moral values. Schooling and discussions

are important, but cultural, tourist and sport activities must not be overlooked. Only a close relationship of the organization's program with the daily life of the students and the correct evaluation of the youth aspirations and needs can guarantee the effectiveness of all activities.

These, in short, are the rich achievements of the Warsaw Politechnic student discussions. The students evaluated the activities of SZSP in the past year, outlined new tasks and elected new authorities. Adam Zaborowski became the chairman of the school council.

The decoration of the Warsaw Politechnic student organization's colors with the SZSP Golden Award added a very solemn moment. It was awarded in recognition of achievements to date. The Janek Krasicki Awards and the SZSP badges were presented to the deserving academic teachers.

Stanislaw Gabrielski spoke at the conclusion of the discussion. He said, among other things, that the SZSP is on the eve of an important event, the Second Congress; that the achievements of almost 4 years are rich but that we have even more important tasks in front of us; that for this reason we need a consolidated union, an honest reflection on past activities, and a substantive, critical discussion.

The results of the conference at the Warsaw Politechnic are certainly an important voice in the pregress discussion.

#### Warsaw University Conference

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 27-28 Nov 76 pp 1, 3

[Text] The ideological-educational work among students and the representation of students' interests in all areas important to them--these are the two most important objectives set for itself by the almost 10,000 strong SZSP organization at Warsaw University.

The review and evaluation of the SZSP's work in the past year and the setting of new tasks were accomplished by the school reporting and election conference on Friday; the delegates of all faculties and institutes participated.

During the rich and lively discussion many matters were brought up. Among things discussed were the improvement of the teaching process and the necessity to increase student participation in scientific research, student culture and educational-ideological work throughout the academic community. The last matter received special attention. It was pointed out that this work is effective only if it reflects and at the same time creates the aspirations, the views and the attitudes of students. It happens that the student youth are not fully aware of the interdependence of their individual plans for life and the events taking place in the modern world. The SZSP, an organization characterized by a comprehensive scope of activities, has a very important role to play in this area. It should help the youth to select the proper path and to find a right place for themselves.

The SZSP at Warsaw University conducts many good, effective activities: for instance, the campaign called "The Party Talks With the Youth," summer training camps, political debating clubs and the University Aktiv School. However, this is no excuse to stop improving the activities. For instance, in the near future increased emphasis will be placed on group discussions. This direct and lively form of thought and opinion exchange can help effectively to awaken interest in sociopolitical matters. It is also necessary to link better the ideological-educational program of the organization with the ideological subjects taught in classes. Full success, however, can be assured only by diverse approaches. Thus all the activities of the SZSP, including tourist, cultural and sports activities, should have ideological content.

The following persons participated in the conference: Eugeniusz Pietrasik, vice chairman of the SZSP Main Administration; Jerzy Boleslawski, chairman of the FSZMP Voivodship Council; and Jerzy Kaminski, chairman of the SZSP Warsaw City Administration. The most active members of the SZSP at Warsaw University were decorated with the J. Krasicki Award, and the deserving academic teachers were presented with SZSP badges.

The conference elected new authorities for the next term. Marek Kuczynski was elected chairman of the school council.

#### Jagiellonian University Conference

Krakow GAZETA POLUDNIOWA in Polish 22 Nov 76 p 1

[Text] The Third School Conference of the SZSP at the Jagiellonian University opened the SZSP reporting and election campaign in the Krakow community. Among others, the following persons participated: Stefan Markiewicz, first secretary of the PZPR Central City Section Committee; Prof Dr Mieczyslaw Karas, rector of the Jagiellonian University; and Andrzej Dyja, chairman of the SZSP Krakow City Administration. During the conference several important matters related to the activities of the SZSP university organization were discussed. The cooperation of the organization with the school authorities was rated very highly. The organization and active involvement of the self-management councils of student dormitory residents were considered exemplary and worthy of emulation. The vigorous cultural activity, acknowledged by the prizes and awards won by the Jagiellonian University student clubs should be also emphasized. Also highly praised was the summer activity "Rymanow and Pinczow 76." On the other hand, the coordination of school activities by various branches of the SZSP is still unsatisfactory. The conference elected new authorities. Tomasz Szczypinski was again elected chairman of the Jagiellonian University SZSP School Administration.

8801

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ECONOMICS, ENGINEERING STUDENTS DISSATISFIED WITH TRAINING

Warsaw ZYCIE SZKOLY WYKSZEJ in Polish No 12, Dec 76 pp 53-61

[Article by Grazyna Pomian, Institute for Science Policy and Higher Education: "Future Engineers' and Economists' Opinion of Practical Professional Training"]

[Text] Student professional practical training is discussed frequently and does not enjoy great esteem.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, nobody questions the principle of practical professional training or denies the role which it fulfills, or should fulfill, in practical preparation for the profession. To date, however, no organizational format has been found which would accomplish the objectives effectively and satisfy all interested parties. The question is: is it not known how to adjust the organization to the objectives of training or are the objectives inappropriate?

In the continuing search for an ideal training model, the voices of students, unappreciated until now, deserve special attention. This is so for two reasons: as participants, they know best how the training is in fact conducted and they have their own idea of what preparation is indispensable for their future work.

The students' views presented in this article were formulated on the basis of results of a poll concerning the professional and educational effects of practical professional training; the poll was conducted by the Sociology Department of the Institute for Science Policy and Higher Education at the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973. The research covered 2,100 persons representing all departments and classes (except the students undergoing undergraduate practical training) of polytechnics and schools of engineering and economics.

The attitude of future engineers and economists to the practical training can be characterized as follows: they accept it, and they consider it an indispensable element of preparation for their profession, but they are not happy with it. This attitude is expressed by their evaluation of professional benefits obtained in the last training. The percentage of students who considered that they obtained great benefit was 39.0, 34.4 percent considered that they obtained minimal benefit and 24.4 percent were those who

obtained no benefit at all. The contributing factors to this evaluation were, primarily, dissatisfaction with the performed tasks (50.2 percent of the sample) and, additionally, improper selection of training location (25.8 percent of the sample), unsatisfactory organization which can be exemplified by failure to complete the program (48.4 percent of the sample) and improper attitudes of the management to the trainees (55.7 percent of trainees received no professional assistance from their immediate superiors).

The organizational shortcomings of the training are not, according to the students, the only cause of mediocre results. An equally important matter is that the objectives do not respond to the modern requirements. First of all, the existing training, which is predominantly production-oriented, is not sufficiently varied and not adjusted to the aim and specialization of the studies. The effectiveness of such training is questioned by all students but especially by those studying modern technologies.<sup>2</sup> The professional usefulness of training is considered nil by 21.8 percent of construction engineering students, 36.4 percent of mechanical engineering students and as high as 59.2 percent of modern technology students. In the same departments, training was evaluated positively by 40.4 percent, 24.0 percent and 7.4 percent respectively. Secondly, the absence of clear differentiation of the character and scope among individual training programs, to the extent that there was no difference between the worker and student training, decreases the satisfaction with effectiveness of training, especially among the more advanced students. Thirdly, the lack of direct relationship between the knowledge acquired in training and its usefulness for the future professional work is reflected in the evaluation of training as the preparation for a profession. Some 24.7 percent of students denied this role all together, 57.0 percent gave it a passing grade and only 15.7 percent considered the training to be a good preparation for the profession. Even allowing that the students' evaluation is characterized by youthful impetuosity and lack of knowledge about the qualification criteria really applicable to the conduct of their future professions, their reservations should not be overlooked and their fears regarding the practical value of professional preparation should not be ignored.

The unsatisfactory results of practical professional training decided that the majority of students, 62.3 percent, announced they were in favor of a reform. Only 11.2 percent wished to keep the current format. A relatively large group, 24.2 percent, declined to answer, despite the fact that on different occasions many of their representatives submitted all kinds of proposals. The advocates of changes, contrary to their fellow students accepting the existing state of affairs and especially contrary to those who did not take any definite position, were the better educated ones, as measured by the year of study and grades, had more practical experience and greater social consciousness. The basic factors differentiating the students' opinions were the branch of studies and the manner in which the last training was organized. The departments where there were relatively many dissatisfied students were at the same time those where most reformers could be found. On the other hand, the satisfaction with the training produced not only the approving responses but also increased the number of the undecided.

The reaction to the question regarding the organization of training was uncommonly spirited: 1,234 advocates of reform submitted a total of 2,058 requests addressed to the school, the plant where the training took place or to both of these institutions at once. Despite all the reservations about the plant, the school remained the main institution to which the students addressed their proposals regarding reorganization of practical training. The most important matter, however, was not who will be the initiator of possible changes but what exactly should be changed to assure that the training fulfills its planned function.

The proposals submitted by the students, similarly to their criticism, concern two aspects of training: improvement of the existing organization and a basic reform of the current model. Of course, it is difficult to draw the line between the two because in many instances the proposed improvements would require basic programmatic changes and model changes would necessitate improvements of the organization of training. For these reasons the students' proposals will be presented here in order of problems whose solution is demanded by both groups of proposals.

1. The type of work during practical training occupied first place among the submitted proposals. The basic demands of the students are as follows:

1) the work should be tailored to the knowledge and skills which students already have. The training program should be strictly subordinated to the study program so that it is neither ahead of material studied nor repetitious of the previous year's material. The training program should also consider individual students' qualifications and their personal interests. In other words, the work should be a little individualized;

2) the work should be educational, i.e. it should provide depth to the knowledge already possessed and above all should permit acquisition of knowledge and skills which cannot be obtained through study at school. First among these is the organization of production and the problems of leadership. The possibilities of familiarizing oneself with these problems would be greater if the students had the opportunity to get acquainted with various divisions within the plant and with various plants having similar production structure;

3) the work should match the future profession and should, to the greatest possible extent, acquaint the students with all the problems related to that profession. The demand to match the work done in training with the future profession did not define clearly the character of that work nor any criteria to determine that kind of work. On the contrary, the students' opinions on this subject were clearly divided.

The observation of equipment or performance was the kind of work which caused most arguments. The satisfaction with this form of work was caused by the opportunity to have an easy and unexacting training and the source of discontent was that it provided minimal professional benefits and that it caused a feeling of embarrassment and shame for being idle in front of working

people. The students realize that there are certain functions and activities with which they can familiarize themselves exclusively through observation but they categorically reject the observation as the obligatory work for the 4 weeks of training.

Most of the students prefer participation in various kinds of productive activities. The reservation was, however, that the "direct participation" be not limited to physical work or consist principally of physical work.

There emerged two concepts of participation in work: 1) performance of various jobs of one kind, e.g. doing various blue-collar jobs; 2) successive performance of various kinds of jobs, e.g. a blue-collar job and then assisting a foreman or a stint in the design office, etc. To go through a blue-collar job was self-evident and beyond discussion for the majority of students. In response to the question: do you think that experience in a blue-collar job is necessary in the profession of engineer or economist, 80.6 percent of the answers were positive. The approval of physical work, however, does not mean the approval of the situation in which each successive training is limited to that type of work and omits the work performed by the medium and upper level of supervisors. The effort to enrich the work performed during training is caused by the desire to insure one's future. The majority of students do not know, and cannot know, in what position they will start their professional careers and how their careers will develop in the future. Hence, such a strong emphasis on the need for a variety of work, starting with blue-collar jobs and ending with managerial positions.

2. An improvement of the training organization was demanded by every other student voting for reform. From their point of view, the most important matter was the program which determines to a great extent the course and effect of training. According to the students, an ideal program should clearly and precisely define the objective, should provide the implementation directives based on thorough knowledge of the training subject and should leave a margin of discretion to the executors. A comprehensive knowledge of industry by scientific workers would be the best protection against the sins of current training: its vague and static character. Among other submitted proposals, the most frequent were:

--that the schools furnish intelligent information on the objectives and purposes of training and on the plant where the training is going to take place;

--that the trainees be given better preparation so that they would be able to perform the work set for them by the program. Currently they either do not have the necessary information, or they are not authorized or they are not issued the appropriate technical manuals;

--that the schools really take care of students during the training. The assigned protector should take interest in the students' work, even if just by telephoning or through correspondence, but above all he should make sure that the plant management complies with the agreement covering the training.



3. The attitude of the plant management to the trainees was for the students one of the factors determining the results of training. A foreman's statement cited by one woman student--"Leave me alone Miss, learn your stuff in school"--best characterizes the situation in which some trainees find themselves and which they would like to avoid in the future. Consequently, their demands to the management are:

--not to change or capriciously interpret the school program,

--to inform the lower levels of supervisors about the program and to control the manner in which the program is implemented,

--to assure that the students are provided with exhaustive information about the plant and the assigned work and that it will not be necessary to "sneak" to see the plant or to guess what are certain technical solutions,

--to assure proper guidance for the students, so that the employee responsible for the students would be their actual guide, not just a guide on paper.

4. The duration of training. The majority of students who addressed this subject were against lengthening the training or making it more frequent. The problem of training duration is not the number of hours spent in the plant but how these hours are filled. If the training were organized more efficiently and sensibly, the same, and perhaps better professional results could be achieved in shorter periods of time. Another possibility is a total reform. In this area, there were the following proposals: 1) return to semester training 2) introduction of one training period of 3- or 4-month duration after the third year of studies, 3) introduction of a dozen or so short (few days) training periods during each year of studies.

5. There were only relatively few proposals--about 19.1 percent of the total--to widen the rights and duties of the trainees in the plant. Such proposals were submitted primarily by those who do not treat the training as just another chore imposed by the school but have an active attitude to the training and the work at the plant. Their main demand was to give to the students the right to be independent and responsible for their own destiny. The particulars of this demand are as follows:

--assured right of free choice of the training location (by the way, this was an almost unanimous opinion of all students participating in the survey, regardless of their attitude to the matter of rights and duties);

--possibility to choose the function and work in training and to vary them from the program prescribed by the school if they do not correspond to the conditions prevailing at the plant or, at least, to have a voice in deciding about such variations;

--determination of the duties to the plant and to the school and an indication of which take precedence.

Conclusions. First, the majority of proposals submitted by the students are the opposite of the current state of training organization and revert to the original plan which, if it were implemented, would have produced much better professional effects. The students' demands retain their importance and timeliness, even if they repeat the truths known for a long time.

Secondly, the students' criticism and proposals bared two basic contradictions embedded in the current program plans: the discrepancy between the traditional educational model and the requirements of modern times and the discrepancy between the immediate objective of training, to supplement the theoretical knowledge obtained in school, and the more distant goal of being prepared to perform professional duties.

In the traditional model of practical training, especially engineer training, the knowledge of physical work, that is the ability to perform all functions within the future profession, used to be considered essential, primarily because the future duties might include supervision of workers. The demands and the perceptions of the modern educational criteria, however, must be superimposed on the existing tradition. The concept of practical preparation should be reevaluated for at least two reasons: there are many new special fields, such as applied mathematics, in which the graduates work in research and development much more often than in production and, consequently, require a different experience from that of their fellow students in the traditional departments such as construction engineering. Moreover, the role of an engineer at the plant is undergoing a change, if for no other reason because now an engineer often deals more with other engineers and middle technical personnel than with workers. Maintaining a uniform training model for all special fields does not fully satisfy any group of students.

Despite the fact that there is no basic contradiction between the immediate and the long-range objectives of training, the two are not identical. In the current situation, a student can get pieces of information through training and learn definite skills but very seldom can he get the broad preparation for his profession. Hence, there were so many proposals to enrich the training with various activities in addition to the skills required to run this or that machine.

Thirdly, nobody is satisfied that the role of training in the plant is defined in an exhaustive or convincing manner. The principal task of a student in training is to learn and he reports to the school, which is represented at the plant by the school representative. At the same time, a student is under obligation to respect broadly defined work discipline and, above all, to carry out all directives of his immediate supervisors, even if they do not conform to the training program. It is easy to see that the role of student-employee is difficult for the student and that it is difficult for the plant management to respect that role. Most often, the plant management solves the problem at its own level and either treats

the trainees as students or as seasonal workers. In the former case, the students more or less accomplish the task set out by the school, in the latter case they remain very far from that goal. Dual authority and two sets of duties, which are often incompatible, produce a situation in which the students, similarly to the management, define for themselves the role which they would like to play at the plant. The majority choose the role of student, sometimes even that of high school kid, and often get into conflict with the plant management. The minority attempt to reconcile the double duties but seldom receive understanding from fellow students or even from the plant employees.

If the practical training is to produce professional results satisfactory to all interested parties, the need to define the status of the trainee is as indispensable as a revision of the training program plans and an improvement of the organization of training.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Among the numerous writings on the subject, two positions are still topical and worth remembering: "Zaleznosc miedzy studiami a praca absolwentow szkol wuzszych" [Relationship between Study and Work Among College Graduates] by Z. Grzelak, Warsaw 1965 and "Plecami do przemyslu" [Turning Away from Industry] by T. Tymowski, POLITYKA No. 45 1973.
2. In the student sample there was a percentage of those who studied electronics, automation, precision mechanics and basic problems of technology. In view of the small numbers in each of these groups, they were lumped together and designated as students of modern technology.

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